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THE BISHOPAL POLITY

HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH

NOTES
ON
THE EPISCOPAL POLITY
OF THE
HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

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NOTES
ON THE
EPISCOPAL POLITY
OF THE
HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH:
WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

BY
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ΠΩΣ ΑΝ ΕΓΕΝΟΤ ΣΤ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ, ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ ΜΗ ΟΝΤΩΝ;
S. ATHANAS. *Ad Dracontium Epist.*

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NOTES

EPISCOPAL POLITY

HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH

THE HISTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL SYSTEM

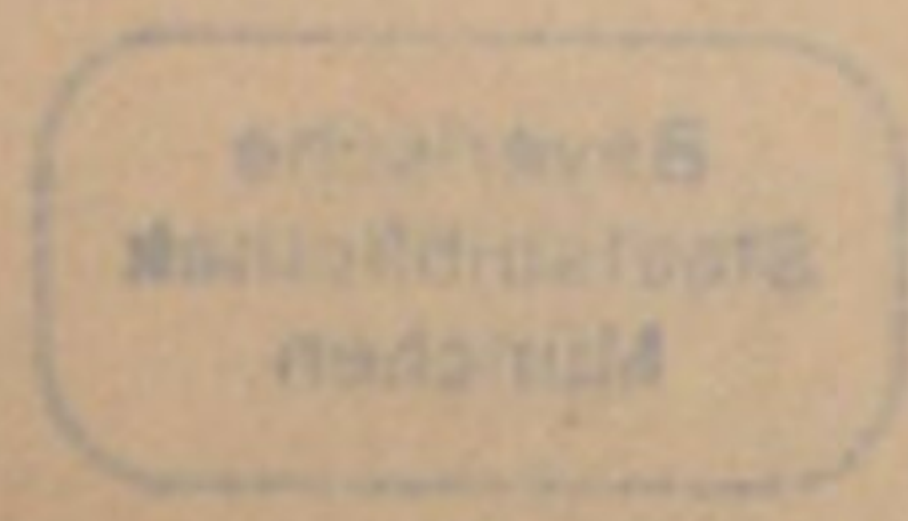
THOMAS GILMAN MARSHALL, D.D.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE appearance of another work, however insignificant, upon a subject so fully exhausted as the Government of the Church, may seem to require some explanation. The learned and distinguished persons who, in past times, have gone over this ground, were not accustomed, as is well known, to leave much behind them for gleaners. Some variety of arrangement, or a different selection of evidence from the same originals which they so diligently explored,—this is the sum of what can now be done by those who have come after them. Had it been intended, therefore, merely to repeat what they have already so well said, the present attempt would have savoured of superfluity, and might have deserved only censure.

There is, however, one argument, from the use of which the earlier writers on Church-polity were either wholly precluded, or which they could employ only at a disadvantage, but which, in consequence of certain recent events to be noticed in these pages, becomes, in the hands of their successors, a weapon of untried but admirable efficacy. The Anglican divines of the 16th and 17th centuries might refer—as they did—in enforcing allegiance to the Successors of the Apostles, to the history of earlier times, and point to the uniform progress from schism to

heresy which that history records. So far they occupied the same position with ourselves. But when they went on to predict a like declension for the principles against which their own writings were directed, and to warn men, from the analogies of the past, that innovation in discipline would infallibly lead to corruption in doctrine,—it is obvious that their adversaries would be no way embarrassed in dealing with a prophecy whose force depended almost entirely upon its fulfilment. That fulfilment, once so little dreaded, it has been reserved to us to witness; and the development of the modern religious systems, though even now imperfect, is at length so far complete as to enable us to determine with accuracy their true character.

The present condition of the various Protestant communities of Christendom,—of which the original organisation was a human device, and therefore defective,—is perhaps the most extraordinary and appalling subject of contemplation to the thoughtful mind, which our own or any other age of the Church supplies. To call attention to this actual condition is the main object with which these pages have been written; and as this portion of their contents is, from the nature of the case, almost entirely novel, it may perhaps be relied upon as an adequate apology for their appearance.

The course of argument pursued, which it may be convenient to state here, is as follows:—

I. The *a priori* objection to the truth of the Catholic System of Polity founded on the indeterminateness of the Sacred Records, and the antecedent probabilities in its favour derived from Prophecy and prescription, are briefly discussed.

II. The positive evidence of Holy Scripture in recognition of the Episcopate is next adduced; and

III. The testimony of Antiquity—as well that which has been supplied by the enemies as by the servants of the Church—including the first four ages of Christianity, is then cited.

IV. The adversary is next referred to the witness of his own masters and teachers, who, even in the first setting up of their new schemes, acknowledged openly the divine origin of that primitive government which they loudly declared their reluctance to subvert, and for the restoration of which they professed, in the most animated terms, their sincere and unfeigned desire. The catalogue of witnesses of this class might have been considerably enlarged; but it will be found to be sufficiently ample. The remarkable admissions of Knox and his confederates, together with many others, have been, for the sake of brevity, wholly omitted;—though it has been justly said, that “the views entertained by the Scottish reformer on the subject of Episcopal superintendence—views which he frequently and emphatically avowed—might be studied with advantage in modern times.”¹ But it was necessary to prescribe a limit in adducing confessions which are themselves almost unlimited.

V. The final argument is that which is supplied by the actual history of those religious bodies which have been severed from the Apostolical Succession, and which were originally founded either upon the deliberate rejec-

¹ See Dr. Michael Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*, ch. vi. vol. i. p. 240; and Bramhall's *Fair Warning of Scottish Discipline*, ch. i. Works, vol. ii. p. 494.

tion of the divine office of the Episcopate, or the supposed sufficiency of other modes of ecclesiastical discipline for preserving in its integrity “the faith once delivered to the saints.”

And although hitherto many have been able to resist the combined testimony of Prophecy, Scripture, and Antiquity, and even to justify their adherence to the modern systems in spite of the explicit confessions of the very men by whom they were first framed; we may perhaps hope, that the present aspect of those systems, and their uniform development—without so much as a single exception—into nurseries of heresy and unbelief, may constrain some few at least to reconsider their hazardous position, and to relinquish, while yet they may, the unhappy inventions, upon which—let it be reverently said—the Almighty seems at length, by abandoning them to utter decay, to have pronounced judgment before our eyes.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

I. AN attempt has been made, during the last three centuries, to introduce a theory of the Holy Church Catholic, with which our fathers do not seem to have been acquainted. Separating what had been religiously held to be one and indissoluble, men have ventured to speak of the Divine Institution as divided into two parts, external and internal. To the latter has been assigned all which they were willing to regard as of the *essence* of the Church—all which was confessed to be in its nature immutable; while the former was supposed to include only those elements of it which they chose to regard as its *accidents*—and these were defined to be variable, subject to change and modification. It was to this division that they referred nearly all points of Discipline and Government.

From this view it followed to speak of “the Church,” and “the Polity of the Church,” not only as separable ideas, but as, in fact, wholly distinct from each other. The judgment of other times, in which the Church—both her doctrines and her discipline, the “Mysteries” and the “Stewards of

the Mysteries," the Gospel, the Priesthood, and the Sacraments—was taken to be, not many parts without unity or coherence, but *one altogether*; this was now rejected. And whereas in those days the new definition here noticed would have been thought to involve some such extravagance as if one should distinguish between a man and his body, or speak of a flame apart from that of which it is composed, or the like; it was now represented as the only true and accurate philosophy; and men did not fear to say of the unspeakable gift of God, "So much is from heaven, and must be used; so much of earth, and may be put away." And it was in the spirit of this wisdom that they did go on to put away, some more, some less, of that Holy Discipline, which, though received from "the beginning" as divine, and consecrated by the reverent acceptance of all Saints, they had resolved to exclude, as forming no part of that system which was embraced in *their* theory of the Church.

With this new notion of the constitution of the Church were developed, almost as a matter of course, new notions of the Bible. The earlier and catholic sentiment, to which these began now to be opposed, had been founded upon a consideration of the structure itself of the Inspired Volume, the history of the Sacred Canon, and the analogy of the Divine Dispensations; and perhaps, yet further, upon the direct authority of Apostolical Tradition. The teaching so derived did not allow the first

Christians to regard the written word of God as an exception to the other modes of revelation by which He had vouchsafed to manifest to His creatures the treasures of His goodness, wisdom, and power. They perceived that it expressly required for its due comprehension certain conditions in those to whom it was addressed, and that these were such as would be fulfilled only in few;¹ that its own pages contained a warning lest men should “wrest” it “to their destruction;”² and that it referred, consistently with this warning, to a witness external to itself.³ They were forbidden, therefore, to suppose that it would always, or even commonly, supply the interpretation of its own sacred mysteries—that it would contain at once a doctrine and the interpretation of the doctrine. There were evidently no antecedent grounds for such a supposition. The Church was more ancient than the Bible;⁴ and when that new and priceless gift, complete and sealed in the fulness of perfection, was added to her already richly endowed children,

¹ S. John vii. 17; from which it is plain that *doing* God’s will in order to *knowing* His doctrine, is to be regarded as a first principle of Christian morals. See this admitted even by Ernesti, *Elements of Biblical Criticism*, part ii. ch. i.; M. Stuart’s translation.

² 2 Pet. iii. 16.

³ *e. g.* 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁴ “Prius fuit Ecclesia Dei quam allata esset prophetia: id est, prius quam Spiritu Sancto inspirati locuti essent sancti Dei homines.” Turrian. *De Ecclesia*, lib. i. cap. i. “If the Apostles had never written at all, we must have followed Tradition; unless God had ‘provided for us some better thing.’” Bp. Taylor, *Dissuasive from Popery*,—Works, vol. x. p. 130.

so far was her authority as “keeper and witness” of the precious deposit from being impaired, that the same decree which so greatly enlarged the one, confirmed for ever the office of the other, as “*the pillar and ground of the Truth.*”¹

To obscure this office was the earliest attempt of the teachers referred to. And as any recognition of the prime verity, that Holy Scripture bore one certain definite meaning,² and that this had been fixed wherever it had been uniformly held by the Church, would have been fatal to the new system which they desired to establish; it was necessary, in the first place, to recede from this belief, and to frame such a theory of the Bible as should harmonise with that which they had already adopted with respect to the Church. This must be such as, while it permitted the rejection of all former interpretations, would give license for the construction of new ones; and in constituting the living sole *judges* of the truth, should not suffer the dead to be even *witnesses*. But this was no difficulty. It was decided at once, by men professing zeal for the Divine honour, and belief in the Divine promises, that the faith of all past ages *might be a mistake*. The Bible was now, for the first time, declared to be not only a message addressing itself to the mind of each individual believer, but such

¹ Στόλος καὶ ἐδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας. 1 Tim. iii. 15.

² “Nullum enim verbum Dei,” says even a Calvinistic writer, “nullum ipsius mysterium *potest esse absque suo vero sensu.*” N. Vedelius, *De Arcanis Arminianismi*, lib. ii. cap. x. p. 245.

as it was both a right and a duty to interpret for himself.¹ And as the inability of the mass of men to solve its difficulties was beyond dispute, it was represented as containing none.

That these opinions are in every case held consciously, with deliberation, and as portions of a definite system of theology, this of course it is not intended to assert; nor is it proposed to do more in this place than barely to notice their existence. To consider them in detail, or to examine into the various tenets which we see, for the most part, to be held concurrently with them, is altogether foreign to our present purpose. There is, however, one notion, the last alluded to in the foregoing remarks, to which, as entering into combination with nearly all the rest, and forming one of the most prominent features of the religious system to which they belong, it seems quite necessary, in a few words as may be, to refer;—and this the rather because it affects fundamentally the whole subject to be considered in these pages.

The notion in question is that which relates to the interpretation of Divine Scripture, and which takes for granted, as a sort of first principle of religious truth, that whatever God designs His creatures to believe or perform, He has *plainly* taught and declared. Its advocates accustom themselves to assume, that since the obedience of man is to

¹ “Unusquisque fidelis sibi est interpretes.” Limborch. *Theolog. Christian.* lib. i. cap. ii. § 6.

be exact and without reserve, the Revelation of God can be in no degree obscure. It is even argued, that so much is implied in the very notion of a Divine Revelation. If God has vouchsafed to deliver to us a message, He must have intended, it is said, that we should understand it. That He speaks at all, is proof enough that He would have us hear His words; and hear them, not as the confused cry of distant voices, which can only perplex the ear, but so as to catch every sound, and discriminate between every tone. In a word, that it must still be with us as it was with our first parents, when they “heard the voice of the Lord God;”—we must not only be aware that He is speaking, but hear so distinctly as to be able, like them, to reply to His every question.

It is the ready and obvious inference from this notion—viz. that whatsoever is not *clearly* taught in God’s word, so much we may safely neglect¹—which we are now about to notice; because it is upon this foundation chiefly that the common sort of men have been taught to build their objection to the Catholic System,—that if it had been Divine, it had surely been *more plainly taught*.² And as

¹ “Those things which are not *plain*, are not necessary; those things we cannot comprehend, are no further necessary than is revealed. And when men go about to explain and make them clear to the world, they go about a work they need not.” Bp. Hoadley, quoted by Leslie.

² “Ubi per clara et manifesta nequaquam intelligunt ea quæ Orthodoxi pro claris habent, ideo, quod per bonam ac necessariam consequentiam e Scriptura eliciuntur, *etsi errantes et hæretici ea*

this cannot be denied to be a just inference, if the assumed hypothesis be true, and is yet, in effect, wholly subversive of our “most holy Faith,” some observations shall be offered here, in order to shew that that hypothesis is, as might be expected, false and erroneous; that it does not follow that, because God has spoken, He must needs have spoken as we imagine He ought to do; nor that there is any other distinctness in His awful language than such as His own words assert—“He that *hath ears to hear*, let him hear.”¹

clara esse non videant.” Vedelius, lib. i. cap. vi. p. 41; where he proceeds to enumerate the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Divinity of our Lord, &c. as amongst those rejected on this principle.

¹ Τοῦτο ἔστι δόγμα παλαιόν τε καὶ πάγιον, σκότος εἶναι ἀποκρυφὴν αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμετέρων κεχυμένον· καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μὴ καθορᾶσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ διοικήσεως, πλὴν ὅσον ἐν ἀμυδροῖς αἰνίγμασι καὶ φαντάσμασιν· εἴτε τὸν τύφον ἡμῶν συστέλλοντος, ἢ εἰδῶμεν τὸ μηδὲν ὄντες πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν σοφίαν καὶ πρῶτην· ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν νεύωμεν μόνον, καὶ ζητῶμεν ἀεὶ ταῖς ἐκείθεν αὐγαῖς ἐναστράπτεσθαι, εἴτε διὰ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας. . . . κ.τ.λ. S. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* xvii. tom. i. p. 268 (Paris. 1630). And what is here said of His dispensations, another writes of the Lord Himself: Ἐπέμφθη γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἵνα γνωσθῇ, ἀλλ’ ἵνα καὶ λάθῃ. Origen. *Contra Celsum*, lib. ii. p. 101 (ed. Spencer). This refers to His Personal manifestation: His presence under the veil of Scripture is no otherwise described. “*Absconsus vero in Scripturis thesaurus Christus, quoniam per typos et parabolas significabatur.*” S. Irenæus, lib. v. cap. xliii. “*Parabolis et propositionibus sumptis, cœlestis veritas intimatur, sicut Ipse in 70 Psalmo testatur,*” &c. Cassiodor. *De Divinis Lectionibus*, lib. i. cap. xvi. And this character of Scripture-teaching is accounted for by another, saying, “*Multa enim propter exercendas rationales mentes figurate atque obscure posita.*” Aug. *De Unit. Eccles.* cap. v.: and again, “*Obscuritates divinarum Scripturarum, quas exercitationis nostræ causa Deus esse voluit.*” *Ep.* lix. *Ad Paulinum*, tom. ii. p. 117. They all admit, or rather teach, that Holy Scripture is obscure, and then give reasons why it is so.

It might, indeed, have seemed a sufficient answer, without going further, to the objection which rejects the Catholic Discipline as too obscurely delivered, that in point of fact it *was* seen plainly enough in Holy Scripture to be received without doubt or misgiving by all Christians for the first fifteen ages, and then only discovered to be obscure when men had set up a *new* system in its place; that it was never judged to want sufficient evidence until it had been resolved that no evidence should be accounted sufficient. Or it might have sufficed to inquire how such an argument could be urged by such assailants; or with what reason men who had rejected one system of government on the very ground that on such points Scripture was obscure, could enforce another upon the opposite ground that it was in Scripture expressly set forth.¹ This reflection would seem to shew, at first sight, that the objection could neither be real nor honest. But without taking further advantage of it than to recommend it to the attention of those whom it may concern, it shall be

¹ “It was a favourite opinion with all the enthusiasts of that age (the 17th), that the Scriptures contained a complete system not only of spiritual instruction, but of civil wisdom and polity.” Robertson, *History of America*, book x.,—Works, vol. ix. p. 311. And, as Bishop Sanderson observes, “no form of government ever yet was used or challenged, but hath claimed to a *jus divinum* as well as Episcopacy.” *Episcopacy not prejudicial to Royal Power*, part ii. § 13. “The Presbyterians take it for granted,” says Monro, “that their way is the only true religion; that it is *plainly* revealed,” &c. Quoted by Lawson, *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 75.

attempted now to meet the objection upon other and higher grounds.

(1.) With this object, let it be considered, in the first place, how many high and sacred truths there are, which are so far from being “clearly taught,” as men speak, in Holy Scripture, that it is only by comparison and inference we are able to gather them thence. “Our belief in the Trinity,” says one of the wisest of our race, “the co-eternity of the Son of God with His Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, the duty of baptising infants,—these, with such other *principal* points, the necessity whereof is by none denied, *are notwithstanding in Scripture nowhere to be found by express literal mention*, only deduced they are out of Scripture by collection.”¹ And these are but a few instances out of many.² One such, however, will suffice to shew that if we are

¹ Hooker, *E. P.* book i. ch. xiv. vol. i. p. 336 (ed. Keble).

² “The words Person, or Trinity, or Trinity in Unity, are not there; *ὁμοούσιος*, or consubstantial, *as the Arians objected*, are not there to be found; nor is *θεάνθρωπος* in all the Greek Testaments; or is it any where expressly, or in terms therein taught, that Jesus Christ is very God and very Man in one and the same Person. The like is to be said of the Deity of the Holy Ghost, Who, *as the Unitarians object*, is not once expressly called God in all the Scriptures of the New Testament. The same may be said of the doctrine of satisfaction, which is there, though not under that name; and also of infant-baptism; the religious observation of the first day of the week, by Christians called the Lord’s day; and of the Polity or Government of the Church by Bishops superior to and distinct from Presbyters,—which yet was the form of government in all churches and ages for almost 1600 years after the time of the Apostles, though

to accept no teaching but such as lies on the surface, as it were, of the written word, we have received too much. We must in that case, if it may be said, review our Creeds. If we may reject what is obscure, the Church has believed much that is needless; if we may despise "dark sayings," the Spirit has spoken in vain. And this is our first answer to the objection—it would not only destroy the Discipline, but make void the Faith of the Church.¹

(2.) But further; the objection under notice is fatal not only to the Catholic, but to any system

it is not in express words mentioned or described in Holy Scripture." Hickes, *Christian Priesthood Asserted*, ch. i. § 3. And this argument was used almost from the first. Τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ, says St. Basil, τοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡλπιότας κατασημαίνεισθαι, τίς ὁ διὰ γράμματος διδάξας; τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τετράφθαι κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν, ποῖον ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξε γράμμα; τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; S. Basil. *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. xxvii. tom. ii. p. 351. Cf. Tertullian. *De Corona*, pp. 121, 2; and Aug. *De Baptismo*, lib. ii. cap. vii. and lib. iv. cap. vi.

¹ "Præterea si Scripturæ tam apertæ sunt, qualiter erravit Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius? præcipue cum hi omnes ex Scriptura perperam intellecta sui erroris occasionem sumpserunt? Quod si in Scripturarum intelligentia isti erraverunt, indeque hæreses suscitaverunt, qui fit ut vulgus indoctum non etiam erret?" Then, changing his position, and admitting, for the sake of argument, that even great Saints—as Cyprian, Austin, or Ambrose—have erred in their interpretation of Scripture, this writer asks, "Si ergo isti doctissimi viri, post diuturnam in sacris literis exercitationem, post longam meditationem, post orationem ferventem atque prolixam, decepti sunt illo teste, qualiter eis Scripturas dicet esse clarissimas in quibus tot talesque viri post longam attentamque earum inspectionem decepti sunt?" Alfons. *De Castro Adv. Hæres.* lib. i. cap. xiii.; *De causis externis unde hæreses oriuntur.*

whatever. For, to borrow the reasoning of a modern writer, "if nothing is to be esteemed of any moment, but counted as a mere trifle and nicety among Christians, which is not expressly required in the Scriptures; then it is a trifle and nicety, whether we believe the Scripture to be a standing rule of faith in all ages, whether we use the Sacraments in all ages, whether we have any clergy at all, whether we observe the Lord's day, whether we baptise our children, or whether we go to public worship; for none of these things are expressly required in so many words in Scripture. May I reject," asks the same acute reasoner,—“may I reject the uninterrupted succession, because it is not mentioned in Scripture? and may I not as well reject all the Gospels? Produce your authority, mention your texts of Scripture, where Christ has hung the salvation of men upon their believing that St. Matthew or St. John wrote such a book seventeen hundred years ago.” The Bible, it seems, if we act upon this objection, must be given up; and next, of course, the Sacraments. For where, as the same writer continues, “shall we find it in Scripture that the Sacraments are to be continued in every age of the Church?” And when these are gone, the Clergy must follow next. “If no government or order of the Clergy is to be held necessary, because no such necessity is asserted in Scripture, it is certain that this concludes as strong against government and the order itself

as against any particular order. For if it be plain that there need be no Episcopal clergy, because it is not *said* there shall always be Episcopal clergy, it is undeniably plain that there need be no order of the clergy, since it is nowhere said that there shall be an order of the clergy.”¹

(3.) The arguments employed thus far are founded on the *consequences* of the supposed objection, which we already perceive to be fatal to many of the primary articles of our religion: let it be observed next, with whom we must assimilate ourselves, if we will urge it. And first, see how nearly akin this clamour for plain directions of Scripture is to the reasonings of the heathen about our Lord’s resurrection:—“He did not shew Himself *plainly* enough,” they said, “nor in the right way!”² “How long dost thou make us to doubt?” said the Jews; “if thou be the Christ, tell us *plainly*.”³ The Sadducees too, in their controversy with the Pharisees, were wont to

¹ Law’s *Second Letter to Bp. Hoadley*, Postscript, p. 133 (1835). “Some, indeed, there are that will not be satisfied with this. They tell us, that it is not sufficient that a thing be not forbidden, but that it must be *commanded*. . . . But if this opinion be true, I must confess that then it is unlawful to hold communion, not only with ours, but with any Church that is or ever was in the world;” because no class of religionists whatever can shew any such express authority for all which they believe or practise. See Bp. Grove’s *Persuasive to Communion*, p. 14 (1681).

² Ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ ὄντως ἐκφῆναι θείαν δύναμιν ἤθελεν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐπηρεάσασι καὶ τῷ καταδικάσαντι καὶ ὁλως πᾶσιν ὀφθῆναι. Vide Origen. *Contra Celsum*, lib. ii. p. 101, where Origen assigns the reason of our Lord’s reserve.

³ S. John x. 24.

say, that “unless they could bring *clear* texts, that should affirm *totidem verbis* what they denied, they would not yield.”¹

Again, what is this demand—this insisting upon plain Scripture teaching—but that of the worst and boldest heretics; as the Pneumatomachi, whose challenge it was to “*shew the Scripture* which makes mention of the Holy Ghost”—Whom these blasphemers feared not to call “the *unwritten* God;”² or the Eunomians, and others, who could say, “There is no *Scripture-proof* that Christ is God.”³ And then these unhappy men

¹ Vide Bp. Sanderson, *Sermon* ii. (Fulford's edition.)

² Πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐπεισάγεις ξένον Θεὸν καὶ ἄγραφον; Vid. S. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxvii. *De Spiritu Sancto*, tom. i. p. 593: and again, Τίς προσεκύνησε τῷ πνεύματι; . . . ποῦ γέγραπται; *Ibid.* p. 599. S. Gregory replies by “collecting”—to use Hooker's phrase—the doctrine out of Scripture; *Ibid.* p. 609. Cassiodorus uses his very word; “His beneficiis *larga pietate collatis*, addita est nobis sanctæ Trinitatis adorabilis et veneranda cognitio.” *De Divinis Lection.* lib. i. cap. xvi. S. Basil uses the same method, *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. x. tom. ii. p. 313, and cap. xxi. pp. 339, 40; which last chapter is occupied with the collection of such proofs. And S. Hilary, when about to refute Arius, says, “*Maxime properamus ex prophetis atque evangelicis præconiis* vesaniam eorum ignorantiamque confundere.” *De Trinitate*, lib. i. p. 11. And, in a word, St. Austin, who notices the same argument of the Arian—“Da, inquis, *testimonia*, ubi adoratur Spiritus Sanctus”—*Contra Maximin. Arian. Episc.* lib. iii. cap. iii. tom. vi. p. 301—says, that “all who wrote before him on the doctrine of the Trinity” drew their arguments from Scripture. *De Trinitate*, lib. i. cap. iv. tom. iii. p. 87. Scripture is seemingly obscure, yet, the Church interpreting, *sufficient*. Cf. S. Athanas. *Contra Arianos*, *Orat.* i. tom. i. p. 287, and *Orat.* ii. p. 360, where this truth is stated.

³ Vide S. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxv. tom. i. p. 574. This, too, was the language of the Apostate; “Nolo, inquit, *verba quæ non scripta sunt dici.*” Vid. S. Hilarii *Contra Constantium Augustum*, p. 329;

would quote such passages as the following to prove, as they hoped, the inferiority of the Son: "My God and your God;" that He could "do nothing of Himself;" "My Father is greater than I;" that He "slept," "awoke," "ate," "drank," was "weary," "wept."¹ His own words, "I and My Father are One," they willingly forgot, neither were suffered to know the Divine Mystery of "perfect God and perfect Man;"² and it was with such arguments as these that heretics impugned the divinity of Christ. They are evidently just such as schismatics employ against His Church. And how shall we marvel if some have learned that *the Church* is not in the Bible,³ when

and S. Cyril. Alex. *Contra Julianum*, lib. x. tom. vi. p. 327 (ed. Auberti). "Ubinam, quæso, est *scriptum*, Christum præcepisse, ut unusquisque inquirat, et norit, *quænam sit vera Ecclesia?*" Faust. Socin. *Tractat. de Eccles.* p. 9 (Racov. 1611). The argument, therefore, is as applicable in the one case as in the other, and has been used in either as occasion required. "Cur autem (ita porrexit Vogelius), *in tota Scriptura non datur exemplum* adorationis et credendi in Sp. S.?" Zeltner. *Hist. Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, cap. iii. § 51, p. 644; Schröder answers, "You may find it in the Apostles' Creed;" &c.

¹ The Arian takes one of these expressions, and reasons upon it thus: "He said, he could *do nothing but what he saw the Father do*; and I had rather believe him speaking of himself, than what the Apostles may say for him." Vide S. Athanas. *Contra Arium Disput. in Niceno Concil.* tom. i. p. 114. The same blasphemer, still resting his argument upon *Scripture*, asks, Ποῖαί εἰσιν αἱ γραφαὶ αἱ φάσκουσαι αἰδίον τὸν υἱόν; *Ibid.* p. 118.

² Τὴν τοῦ μυστηρίου δύναμιν κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον συνιείς. S. Cyril. Alex. *Adv. Nestor.* lib. v. tom. vi. p. 126.

³ "In Scripturis didicimus Christum, in Scripturis didicimus Ecclesiam: *si Christum ipsum tenetis, ipsam Ecclesiam quare non tenetis?*" Aug. *Ep.* clxvi. tom. ii. p. 290.

others have discovered that *the Holy Trinity* is not there either? Is it strange that some should make a mock of the Bride, while others dishonour the Bridegroom? or that *the same objection* should prove the Church to be human which shews that Christ is not divine?

Enough has been said, perhaps, by way of illustrating the true nature of the principle in dispute. On one side are the Church and her best servants, as might be very fully shewn, rejecting it;¹ on the other, misbelievers of every shade defending it; and between these two classes it is not difficult to make our choice. Other considerations might be offered in refutation of the shallow and irreligious assumption which has been noticed; but there is no space for them here. Running counter to the analogy of God's dispensations, whether in His works or the revelation of His will, and casting doubt upon all holy truths which are not delivered

¹ Thus the great Christian philosopher. "We cannot argue," Bp. Butler says, "that this cannot be the sense or intent of such a passage, for, if it had, it would have been expressed more plainly, or have been represented under a more apt figure or hieroglyphic; yet we may justly argue thus with respect to common books. And the reason of this difference is very evident; that in Scripture we are not competent judges, as we are in common books, *how plainly it were to have been expected what is the true sense should be expressed, or under how apt an image figured.* The only question is, what appearance there is that this is the sense? and scarce at all how much more determinately or accurately it might have been expressed or figured?" *Analogy*, part ii. ch. iii.; with which compare the remarkable saying of St. Justin Martyr, quoted by Grabe, *Spicileg.* tom. ii. p. 178.

with such evidence as it approves, there are few, perhaps, of all the heresies which have distracted the Church from the beginning, which were not founded upon, or at least in some degree connected with, this very notion. It was necessary to speak of it here, because it presents itself as an obstacle in the very outset of the path through which the subject of these pages will lead us; because it *takes for granted* that the Government of the Church, being obscurely, or not expressly, taught, is of no importance. One remark only shall be added with reference to that characteristic of Holy Writ to which this wilful and disobedient spirit refuses to submit itself.

It seems to be forgotten, then, that the writings of the New Testament were addressed to men who had been instructed "*by word*" long before they were taught by *writing*; who already possessed a testimony which we have not, the testimony of their eyes and ears; who had *heard* Apostles preach and *seen* Apostles rule; and whose minds the later instruction "with ink and pen" did but "stir up by way of remembrance" of that oral teaching, those "*words spoken before*," of which it was an express object of the written admonition to make them "*mindful*."¹ A hint which, in the naked letter, and with no expositor from without, conveys but little meaning to us, would speak plainly enough to them; an allusion which is too obscure for our

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 15, with 2 Pet. iii. 2 and 2 John 12.

perceptions, would flash like the sunbeam upon their eyes: we must *expect* difficulties; they are our portion.¹ And so much, in brief, upon the notion adverted to. If the Discipline of the Church is unimportant because the Bible speaks obscurely of it, her Doctrines are unimportant also. If Episcopacy may be denied because it is not *forced* upon us, must not Christianity be rejected with it?²

II. If it be admitted, then, that the “difficulties of Scripture,” as they have been called, may possibly constitute one portion of our trial, that it need not be so easy to find out God’s will for ourselves,

¹ As the wisest of our Fathers confessed, “In sanctis Scripturis multo nesciam plura quam scio.” Aug. *Ep.* cxix. *Januario*, tom. ii. p. 220. And again: “Sancta Scriptura . . . omnibus accessibilis, quamvis paucissimis penetrabilis.” *Ep.* iii. *ad Volusianum*, p. 7. “Ἀπερ πάνυ ὀλίγοι, says another, and he supposed to have leaned too confidently to his own wisdom, ἡσκήκασι συνιέναι, οἱ πάντα τὸν βίον ἑαυτῶν ἀναθέντες, κατὰ τὴν Ἰησοῦ ἐντολήν, τῷ ἐρευνᾶν τὰς γραφάς· καὶ μᾶλλον, τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων Ἑλλήνων περὶ τίνος νομιζομένης ἐπιστήμης, ἀνάληψιν κεκμηκότες περὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοῦ βουλήματος τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων. Origen. *Contra Celsum*, lib. vi. p. 300.

² “And here we cannot but take notice with what furious, inconsiderate, malicious purposes some have pursued Episcopacy; and rather than have it stand, they’ll fall themselves, deny what is otherwise their great delight, the divine right of presbytery, and take away all Church-power for ever with it. And, indeed, the *principles* these men go upon are such, when to throw down Episcopacy, *that they strike at once our whole Christianity with the same blow*; . . . and there cannot be, under their guiding and conduct, any such thing as either truth or heresie; the one to be convincingly vindicated, or the other solidly confuted; as might be easily made appear.” Simon Lowth *On Church Power*, ch. iii. § 11. On the true character and tendency of their principles, see the description of the views of Hoadley and his party by Jablonski, *Institut. Hist. Christian.* secul. xviii. § 2. tom. i. p. 342.

nor quite safe to reject any doctrine because it is not, as we think, "plainly" taught in His word, the way will be so far cleared for the considerations upon which we are presently to enter.¹ We shall not venture to turn petulantly from the subject of Church-Government, on the plea that it is little noticed in Scripture, or only obscurely re-

¹ There is, indeed, another objection, which gets rid of the whole subject of Church-Polity by regarding it as a "little matter," and intrinsically insignificant; but to so vain and presumptuous a notion a formal reply seems quite unnecessary. It is curious, however, that it was noticed, by implication, and censured, by a writer so early as Clemens Alexandrinus;—vid. *Stromat.* lib. i. p. 278. St. Basil's saying is very striking: Τὸ ναὶ, καὶ τὸ οὐ, συλλαβαὶ δύο· ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος ὅρος τῆς πονηρίας τὸ ψεῦδος, τοῖς μικροῖς τούτοις ῥήμασι πολλάκις ἐμπεριέχεται. And presently he adds, Εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία κεραία οὐ παρελεύσεται, πῶς ἂν ἡμῖν ἀσφαλὲς ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα; *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. i. tom. ii. pp. 292, 3. So St. Chrysostom; . . . Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο ἔστι τῶν πάντων αἴτιον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἀγανακτεῖν· διὰ τοῦτο τὰ μείζονα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐπεισῆλθεν, ὅτι τὰ ἐλάττονα τῆς προσηκούσης οὐ τυγχάνει διορθώσεως. *In Epist. ad Gal.* tom. iii. p. 717. "Qui modica despicit," says St. Anselm, quoting Scripture, "paulatim decedit. Non debetis considerare *quam parva sit res* quam contra prohibitionem facitis, sed quantum malum sit inobedientia, quam pro parva re incurritis. Sola enim obedientia potuit hominem in paradiso retinere, unde per inobedientiam ejectus est." *Epist. Exhort.* inter Opp. (Nuremberg. 1491). But St. Austin touches the root of the matter: "Non afferamus stateras dolosas," says he, "ubi appendamus quod volumus, et quomodo volumus, pro arbitrio nostro, dicentes, *hoc grave, hoc leve est*: sed afferamus divinam stateram de Scripturis sanctis tanquam de thesauris Dominicis, et in illa quid sit gravius appendamus,—imo non appendamus, sed a Domino appensa potius recognoscamus." *De Baptismo*, lib. ii. cap. vi. tom. vii. p. 40. To which may be added the remarkable saying of a modern philosopher: "Quant à la distinction des points fondamentaux et non fondamentaux, M. Pelisson a raison encore de dire, que *la moindre erreur* dans la Foi, accompagnée de rebellion, peut priver du salut." Leibnitz, *De la Tolérance des Religions*, p. 96.

ferred to; for, even if this were true, we have seen that sacred doctrines, which we dare not reject, are no otherwise revealed to us therein. And if such reasoning avail in one case, it will in another: if it defend schism, it will justify heresy; if it be good for the separatist, it is good for the Socinian.¹

We might proceed, then, at once with our subject; but since so much space has been given to the supposed *a priori* objection of the adversary, we must also, for our part, claim the benefit of certain antecedent probabilities, which deserve to be taken into account.

(1.) And first, we need not fear to express too confidently our conviction, that God, who regulated, with mysterious jealousy, every minute particular of worship for His people Israel—and that expressly with reference to a *future* service—would scarcely leave us Christians to find out a worship for ourselves.² The knowledge of what He certainly did for “our fathers,” to whom He was no otherwise revealed than as “a jealous God,” would suggest far other thoughts. It would be natural

¹ Vide F. Socin. *Tractat. de Eccles.* pp. 8, 9:—So that the Catholic Faith is maintained against the Socinian by a course of reasoning precisely analogous to that by which the Primitive Discipline is defended against the Presbyterian. See Edwards’ *Preservative against Socinianism*, part iv. pp. 150 et seq.

² “Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders and a Prelacy in the government of His Church among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers,—*who have as much of the principles of schism and division as other men.*” Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, p. 144.

to suspect that He would not leave us to frame laws for ourselves, who forbade them to devise even ceremonies; and that if, "*for our admonition*," He smote Uzzah in death who did but *touch* the Ark, and the men of Bethshemesh "because they had *looked* into it,"¹ He would scarcely suffer us to build up or pull down, each according to his own fancy, the Church of which it was only a type.² This supposition seems utterly extravagant and improbable, and may be dismissed at once.³ But further:—

¹ Vide Spelman, *De non Temerandis Ecclesiis*, cap. xiv.

² "Dies me deficiet si omnia Arcæ sacramenta cum Ecclesia componens edisseram." S. Hieron. *Adv. Luciferianos*, cap. viii. tom. ii. p. 202. Cf. Firmilian. ad S. Cyprian. ap. Routh. *Opusc. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 232.

³ "Et sane nulla ratio permittit, ut distinctior fuerit hierarchia in Testamento Veteri quam in Novo, *cum illud umbræ, istud imagini comparetur ab Apostolo*." Bellarmin. *De Clericis*, lib. i. cap. xiv.; *Disput.* tom. ii. p. 327. "Tota Judææ terra," St. Jerome says, "tribuumque descriptio, futuræ Ecclesiæ in cœlis typus est." *Adv. Jovinian.* lib. ii. cap. xviii. "*Nihil* allegorizari potest," says St. Irenæus, lib. v. cap. xxxv. Πάντα ἐκείνα, writes another, τύπος ἡμέτερος. S. Greg. Nyssen. *De Baptismo*, tom. ii. p. 218. "... *Nihil* legalium institutionum, nihil propheticarum resedit figurarum, quod non totum in Christi sacramenta transierit. *Nobiscum* est signaculum circumcisionis, sanctificatio chrismatum, consecratio sacerdotum; nobiscum," &c. S. Leonis Mag. *Serm.* lxii. tom. i. p. 279: cf. *Serm.* lxviii. pp. 295, 6. "In the New Testament," says our own Dodwell, "the hypothesis that Christianity is nothing but a mystical Judaism is so confessed, as that reasonings are allowed from Jewish precedents to shew what ought to be under Christianity, and that most of the reasonings in the N. T. for introducing things proper to the Christian religion are indeed of that kind." *One Altar*, chap. ix. p. 231. Cf. Mede, *Sermon on the Reverence of God's House*, Works, b. ii. p. 342, where instances of this way of reasoning are collected from the Apostolic epistles. See also, on the Typical character of the earlier Dispensation, Davison *On Prophecy*,

(2.) This System—the Jewish—has been, in its main features, superseded; yet not, let it be carefully observed, without manifold prophecies of Holy Scripture speaking wonderfully of some such System by which it should be *followed*. This new System is often symbolised under the form of “a Woman,” and that Woman is said to be “the Bride”¹ of Christ. “Kings” and “queens” are to “bow down” before her, even “at the soles of her feet;” “no weapon that is formed against her shall prosper;” she shall be “fair as the moon, clear as the sun, terrible as an army with banners.” She is figured as “the City of the Lord,” which “God will establish *for ever* ;” we must “tell the towers thereof, mark well her bulwarks, and consider her palaces,” not for ourselves only, but that we “may tell it to the generation following;” and she is so far like the first Church as to be also called “a garden *enclosed*, a spring *shut up*, a fountain *sealed*.”

p. 134. Even the adversaries use this argument freely, when it happens to them to do so conveniently. “Albeit such a number of Elders may be chosen in certaine congregations, that one part of them may relieve another for a reasonable space, *as was among the Levites under the law in serving of the Temple.*” *The Second Book of (Scottish) Discipline*, ch. vi. And the “reformed” divines of Leyden, in their celebrated “Censure” in support of the Synod of Dort, complain that the Remonstrants, in their chapter on the Orders of the Ministry, “do not allege a single testimony from the Old Testament, quasi utriusque inter se hic nullam *ἀναλογίαν*, proportionem, et convenientiam videantur agnoscere.” *Censur.* in cap. xxi. 268.

¹ Isaiah liv. 5. “Sponsus et sponsa, vel vir et uxor, Christus et Ecclesia dicuntur.” Aug. *Contra Faust.* lib. xxii. cap. xl. tom. vi. p. 171.

All these, with other words great and marvellous, are spoken of her before the coming of her Lord in the flesh. Afterwards new names are given her, and new honour. To her consecrated servants is now given power to bind and power to loose sins;¹ they are “the glory of Christ;” “ambassadors for Christ;” sent by Him “even so” as He by the Father; and they are to be summoned to their high office by an ordinance which He had long since appointed — “called of God, *as was Aaron*,” the Jewish High Priest. Whosoever shall now “neglect to hear” her voice whose servants they are, shall be counted, by Christ’s command, and that both “in heaven” and “on earth,”² “*as an heathen man and a publican*.” She is now openly styled “the Body of Christ;”³ she is of Him made “the pillar and ground of the Truth;”⁴ nay, she is “the fulness of Him that filleth all in all,”⁵ the very mirror in which the heavenly hosts are bid to discern “the manifold wisdom of God.”⁶

(3.) Here, then, beyond all controversy, is *some* great and divine System, having the properties of *vast dominion, exclusive honours and privileges, and eternal endurance*. Akin, in some respects at least, to the Institution which it supersedes; joined to

¹ S. John xx. 23.

² S. Matthew xviii. 17, 18.

³ Ephes. i. 23, and iv. 12.

⁴ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁵ Ephes. i. 23.

⁶ Ephes. iii. 10. For an account of the attributes of the Church, as set forth both in the Old and New Testament, see Leslie’s *Case of the Regale and Pontificate*, § 19.

Christ as a bride to her lawful husband; and counted to be the very marvel of marvels before the Angels of God. We need not attempt accurately to combine and explain all this. Enough that *somewhere upon the earth*, if there be truth in the Sacred Scriptures, this wonderful System is still to be seen; not dimly and darkly, like the faint outline of a distant shore, but a mighty fabric, with bulwarks, and towers, and palaces, kings serving in its courts, and queens worshipping in its streets; a sight fearful and beautiful to look upon, —“fair as the moon, clear as the sun, terrible as an army with banners.” So much being manifest, and acknowledged on all hands, let us see how stands the case.

(4.) We have, at this time, actually before our eyes, such a vast and uniform System; co-extensive with the limits of universal Christendom; ascribed by Saints and Martyrs to the institution of Christ or His Apostles; never assailed by the voice of the disputer for fifteen consecutive ages; not denied by any to be traceable to within forty years of St. John's death;¹ proved to have been then existing in every known Church in the world; without even a pretended record, of any subsequent date, professing to give account of its origin; believed by the friends and companions of the Apostles, and their disciples, to be *that* System which the Prophets foretold; and received without

¹ See Chap. II. § 4.

question, by all men, in all times and places, as an integral part of Christianity.

(5.) We have, moreover, the sure word of God that His Church, *whatever it be*, is built upon a Rock, so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and we have His immutable promise that “the Spirit of Truth” should come, almost from the very hour in which He left her to herself, to “guide” her “*into all truth.*”¹

(6.) Put this together. *Some* mighty System was foreordained to *succeed* one which had, confessedly, existed as its type: they were so far like to each other, that Apostles spoke of one being the “*shadow*” of the other; the adherents of the former were invited to enter the latter as being *identical* with it; its individual members were promised a positive conviction of the truth in proportion to their holiness; its collective body to be infallibly guided by the Holy Ghost; and from the lifetime of St. John there *has existed* a Body, for fifteen unbroken ages without even a pretended rival, which professed in the Name of Christ, and was believed by all His servants, *to be that Divine System.*

(7.) And we are now asked by the adversary to believe that a System *opposed* to this, founded upon the supposition that it was a human device, a supplanting of some purer form which Apostles had set up, by men whom Apostles had known and loved; a stifling of the true Church in its infancy

¹ S. John xvi. 13.

by men whose blood was shed in its defence, and a rebellion against the will of Christ by men who gave up all for His Name's sake; that a System which assumes that the unfaltering tradition of all ages was a cheat, and the unanimous testimony of all people a lie;¹ that God's holy promise was broken, and the "Spirit of Truth" *not* sent; that Prophecy was unfulfilled, Martyrs mocked, and Saints deceived;—we are to believe that a System, the day and hour of whose birth we know, which was protested against from its first erection by almost the whole world, excused as a necessary evil by its own framers, and never set up in any land but by rebellion and bloodshed;² which has fluctuated from the first in incessant variations, and having changed its form and fashion times unnumbered, is now, in every quarter of the globe, fading into universal apostacy;³—we are bid to think that *such* a System was the true divine one,

¹ " *O magnum crimen omnium gentium* quas in semine Abrahæ benedicendas promisit Deus!" Aug. *Festo, Epist.* clxvii. tom. ii. p. 291.

² "It is particularly remarkable of *presbytery* that it never came yet into any country upon the face of the earth *but by rebellion*: that mark lies upon it." Leslie, *Rehearsals*, no. 161. "Begotten in rebellion," says Heylyn, "born in sedition, and nursed up by faction." *History of the Presbyterians*, p. 9. One of its features, as a system cemented by blood, was described by the Martyr King. "I must shew you, sirs," said he, on the scaffold, just before his death, "I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and I will put you in the way. First, you are out of the way; for certainly all the way you ever had yet, as I could find by any thing, *is in the way of conquest.*" Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. vii. p. 1429.

³ See Chap. V.

the original scheme of our Saviour and His first Apostles.

There is such a presumption against the probability of this as, one may say, no evidence could surmount; and it seems almost to savour of blasphemy to assert it as even remotely possible. And at least, if we must go on to weigh the claims of this new rival, we shall look, upon the very principles of its supporters, for the *plainest* and most convincing testimony. It will be enough for *our* cause that Holy Scripture should not expressly repudiate our System; we need no positive proof of God's word in its favour, because its very existence in our own and its history in past times, being the fulfilment of many prophecies, *is* irrefragable Scripture proof. The adversary, on the contrary, must not only confirm his scheme by distinct enforcement of Holy Writ, but *account for the stupendous phenomenon before our eyes*. We might even expect, upon his principles, some positive announcement in the sacred volume that a *false* System should, without question of friend or foe, usurp for long ages the place of the true Church of God, and claim its just titles. We have but to shew that the Bible *recognises*, or does not in terms exclude us; they, that it plainly asserts their views, and as plainly denies ours. It is ours to prove that Prophecy has been fulfilled; theirs, to deny it:¹ ours, to shew

¹ "Vestrum enim est hæc ostendere, *nam nobis sufficit ad causam nostram quod compleri prophetiam et Scripturas sanctas per orbem terrarum videmus.*" Aug. *Honorato, Epist.* clxi. tom. ii. p. 277.

that the Everlasting Church has never failed from the days of "our father Abraham;" theirs, that for the first fifteen ages of the Gospel, it was supplanted by a scheme of man: our faith is, that God has maintained His promises; their assertion, that He has broken them: we believe that the "Spirit of Truth" did come; they, that He did not: we, that He guided the Church "into all truth;" they, that truth was discovered the other day. Lastly, if we be deceived, all who ever lived were in the same error; if the Church Catholic be not the appointed Ark of God, the One and Indivisible Body of Christ, then has His Church never existed, the declarations of the Bible are nugatory, the promises of God unmeaning, and the faith of man a dream. If, therefore, any weight is to be attached to *a priori* arguments, it will be admitted that the adversary occupies a very unfavourable position.

Our case, then—that we may state it again—resting only upon the argument from Prophecy, and antecedently to the consideration of *evidence* of any kind, is this: (1.) A great Ecclesiastical System, the Jewish, has existed and passed away. (2.) A corresponding Institution was, however, fore-ordained to succeed it. (3.) Such a kindred System, giving manifold tokens of Divine origin, has actually existed for many ages, and (4.) was always believed to be *the* System. These points are admitted. It follows, then, that we are not

about to search the Scriptures—which is to be our next step—in order to find whether they contain *any* Ecclesiastical System, and what; our object is more definite. It is to discover whether *that* System which is before our eyes, and to which reference has been made, is recognised in their pages. Ours is not the lot of exiles, or wanderers in search of a country; we dwell at home, blessed be God! and have a goodly heritage; we have only to prove our claim to what we already possess. We have but to shew that our holy forefathers were not all in error, nor the Church marred by her best, and wisest, and eldest-born children; that God was graciously pleased to keep the promise which He vouchsafed to make; and that they were, in fulfilment of that promise, guided into all truth.¹ And at this point we turn to the Scriptures.

¹ Which if we doubt or deny, “*necesse est*,” says Vincentius, in one of the most striking passages of his treatise, “*ut fides beatorum Patrum, aut tota, aut certe magna ex parte, violetur: necesse est, ut omnes omnium ætatum fideles, omnes sancti, omnes casti, continentes, virgines, omnes Clerici, Levitæ et Sacerdotes, tanta Confessorum millia, tanti Martyrum exercitus, tanta urbium, tanta populorum celebritas et multitudo, tot Insulæ, Provinciæ, Reges, Gentes, Regna, Nationes, totus postremo jam pene terrarum orbis per Catholicam fidem Christo Capiti incorporatus, tanto seculorum tractu ignorasse, errasse, blasphemasse, nescisse quid crederet, pronuncietur.*” Vincent. Lerinens. *Commonit.* § 24.

CHAPTER II.

SCRIPTURE EVIDENCE.

CASE OF ST. JAMES.

I. IF we refer to the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, we find that Apostle making mention of his first visit to Jerusalem. Having said that he "went up to Jerusalem to see Peter," he immediately adds, "but other of the Apostles saw I none, *save James, the Lord's brother.*" It is to this expression that I wish, in the first place, to call attention.

That this St. James was not one of the *Twelve* Apostles is commonly asserted by the authorities, both ancient and modern.¹ And so much seems probable, both from the distinct enumeration of

¹ See them quoted by Hammond, *Dissert.* iv. *De Episcopat.* cap. iii. § 2; and Weisman, *Histor. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. pp. 52, 53. Salmasius affirms confidently that St. James was not one of the Twelve:—"Certum est," he says, "non fuisse unum ex duodecim." Walo-Messalin. *De Episcopis et Presbyteris*, p. 20; and again p. 47. Not, however, that our reasonings depend upon this, one way or the other; for, as Thorndike observes, "Whosoever this James of Jerusalem was, we find the Church of Jerusalem under his charge almost as soon as there was a Church there." *Primitive Government of Churches*, chap. ii. The point is considered at length by St. Jerome, *In Epist. ad Gal.* cap. i. tom. vi. p. 125.

them, and from the mention made of him by St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. Speaking, in the fifteenth chapter, of the various appearances of our Lord after His resurrection, he shews how He manifested Himself first to Cephas, then to *the Twelve*, then to the five hundred brethren, then to James, then to *all the Apostles*. So that here St. James is reckoned distinctly from the Twelve, and they from the rest of the Apostles. There were others, then, to whom that title, whatever it implied, belonged, besides the Twelve. It becomes, therefore, an interesting question, under what signification this sacred name was applied to St. James. But without limiting our inquiry to this object, some particulars shall be added with reference to that holy person, which, in confirming the general argument, may serve to explain this also.

In the first place, we find his name mentioned, in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians—which passage refers to an exercise of *authority*—before that of St. Peter, who yet was the “chief of the Apostles.” This relative position of their names we are sure was not accidental, and therefore not without meaning. Further; he *presided* at that assembly recorded in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, at which were present St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as other eminent disciples. They had met together to consider a very grave matter; namely, whether the law of Moses

should be imposed upon the Gentiles who were converted to Christianity. And we read that, “when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up,” and delivered his opinion. Now we might well suppose that his opinion would have been decisive, and yet we find it otherwise; for he was followed in the debate by St. James, who did not merely express an opinion, as others had done, but, having summed up what had been said by St. Peter, gave in his own name final judgment, saying, “*therefore I give sentence.*”¹

Now, how came it to pass that, in an assembly where were met together St. Peter and St. Paul, Barnabas, Silas, and others of like rank, James, who was not one of the Twelve, should speak with this authority, and venture to pronounce judgment, when they only gave advice? The narrative, it must be confessed, is altogether singular and unexpected. There is evidently something unexplained in the story itself; and we are naturally led to search for other passages which may throw

¹ Acts xv. 19: διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω. “The decretory sentence was given by St. James, and not by Peter; κρίνω ἐγὼ, saith St. James, *I judge*; that is, saith Chrysostom, μετ’ ἐξουσίας λέγω τοῦτο, *I with authority say this*: and this determination of the question was made by James, saith Chrysostom, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, *because he had the government* (viz. of the Church of Jerusalem) committed to him.” Whitby, *in loc.* St. Chrysostom elsewhere says, “He was Bishop of the Church in Jerusalem, *therefore* he speaks last.” *Homil. xxxiii. in Act. Apost.*, quoted by Lardner, *History of the Writers of the N. T.* chap. xvi. Πέτρος δημηγορεῖ, says Hesychius, ἀλλ’ Ἰάκωβος νομοθετεῖ. Photii *Biblioth.* num. 275.

light upon it. With this object, let us go on to observe the issue of this remarkable council.¹

It was determined, then, at the suggestion of St. James, to send letters from Jerusalem, expressive of the opinion entertained upon the matter in dispute, and conveying instruction and commandment to the Churches. Now these letters of mandate were sent by the hands of certain presbyters of the Church at Jerusalem; and we find St. Paul saying of these very messengers, that they came, not, as we might perhaps have anticipated, "from Jerusalem," nor "from the assembly" at which were present St. Peter and the rest, nor yet "from the Elders," but "*from James.*"²

Again; if we refer to the twenty-first chapter of the Acts, we read thus: "And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly, and the day following Paul went in with us *unto James.*" Now, why "*unto James?*" why not rather "to the Elders" of the Church? Already we have seen St. Paul affirming of certain priestly persons who went *from* Jerusalem, that they went "*from James;*" and St. Luke writing of others who had gone *to* Jerusalem, that they came "*to James.*" This is surely very remarkable: let us

¹ Compare the accounts given of it by P. Benedict. xiv. *De Synod. Diæcesan.* lib. i. cap. i. § 5; and F. Buddeus, *De Statu Eccles. Christ. sub Apost.* Præfat., who agree in regarding it as a very critical event in the history of the Apostolic Church.

² Gal. ii. 12.

hear one more witness—the “chief of the Apostles” himself.

An Angel had said to St. Peter,¹ as he slept at midnight “between two soldiers, bound with two chains, . . . Gird thyself, and bind on thy sandals; and so he did. And he saith unto him, Cast thy garment about thee, and follow me. And he went out and followed him.” The heavenly guide led on, and they passed through “the first and second ward, the iron gate that leadeth unto the city opening to them of his own accord. They passed on through one street,” and the Angel departed. St. Peter, having “considered the thing, came to the house of Mary the mother of John, where were many gathered together, praying.” Being admitted, after long delay, to the presence of the “astounded” company, he tells them “how the Lord had brought him out of prison.” He turns to venture once more—this time without a visible guide—through the dark and silent city; but before he goes, he leaves with them, even at that solemn hour, one brief charge; it is this—“Go, shew these things *unto James*, and to the brethren.”²

¹ Acts xii. 8.

² Acts xii. 17. And all which is implied in these passages seems to be confirmed by the inscription of his own Epistle. For “why does St. James direct his Epistle ‘To the *Twelve Tribes* scattered abroad,’ but only because he looked upon all those Christians who had been converted from Judaism, yet still thought it their duty to come *to Jerusalem* to worship, to be under his care as the Bishop of that place, to which they yearly resorted from the several countries

In the absence of any further notices than are supplied in the Sacred Record, it is plain that all this must be unintelligible to us. There may have been, and no doubt there were, good reasons why St. James should preside in an assembly of Apostles; why the emissaries of that assembly should be said to be sent *from* him; why Christians visiting Jerusalem should go *to* him; and why, even at midnight, and under the influence of a supernatural vision, St. Peter should not forget to mention his name and recognise his authority. I say, there must have been sufficient reasons for all this; but they do not appear on the face of the Inspired History. Whatever they were, we at least are not informed. Now it should be observed that this ignorance is confined to ourselves. To those who lived twenty-five years after the time referred to, there was no difficulty in these allusions; *they* knew perfectly well what they meant. St. Peter's midnight release from prison by the Angel, and his remarkable mention of St. James, occurred about the year 41; and in the year 66 another Apostle, writing an Epistle to the Church Catholic, begins thus: "Jude the servant of Jesus Christ, and *brother of James*." At that time, therefore, James had been filling a station so eminent and was so universally known, that his name not only needed no explanation itself, but served, so to through which they were dispersed?" Brett, *Church Government*, ch. iv. p. 56.

speak, as the passport for another. St. Jude evidently took it for granted that every body knew who "*James*" was.¹

Now a man searching the Scriptures with an honest desire to find out his Lord's will in respect of the Government of His Church, would probably be much influenced by all this. Perhaps—if he should couple with it the unbroken tradition, the unvarying faith and practice of that Church, in every place and every age—to a meek and candid mind it might suffice to prove the institution of Episcopacy. It would not fail to be considered by a person of such a temper, that many high doctrines and solemn observances—*e. g.* the Baptism of Infants, and keeping holy the first day of the week—depend solely upon *inferences* which are gathered from passages less numerous, and perhaps

¹ It is important to consider this, because it renders it highly improbable that the early Christians could have been mistaken as to the office which he filled. The fame of his personal dignity endured so long, that men boasted in after years that they had succeeded to "the See of St. James." And even when Jerusalem was trodden down by the idolater, and her very name and title changed, "*Ælienses Præsules se Jacobi Apostoli sedem occupare jactabant.*" Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 109. "He was a man of such sanctity and reputation with the people," says St. Jerome, "*ut fimbriam vestimenti ejus certatim cuperent attingere.*" *Ad Gal.* cap. i.: and the same Father notices elsewhere (*Adv. Jovinian.* lib. i. cap. xxiv. tom. ii. p. 157), that even Josephus attributed the destruction of Jerusalem to the judgment of God upon his murderers. St. Anastasius Sinaita also remarks (*De S. Synaxi*) that the Jewish writers take pains to record his last words. Was it *possible* that the next generation could be in any doubt whether he was Bishop of Jerusalem or not? Cf. Origen. *Contra Celsum*, lib. i. p. 35.

less emphatic than these, and which are *confirmed* similarly by the interpretation of the Primitive Church. We are proposing to search for the Divine will from the best evidence which we can have of it, possessing no antecedent knowledge how far it may be expressed clearly or otherwise. If that evidence be such as to make it only probable that the Episcopal form of Church-government was the form instituted by the Apostles, all who "love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity" will humbly and thankfully embrace it.¹ So that, if no further indication of God's will in this matter had been vouchsafed to us than is conveyed in these scattered sentences, it could not have been either prudent or dutiful to act upon our own will. We should be conscious of inconsistency in doing so; and this, in the exercise of religious duty, would be a grave offence. But, in point of fact, God has not left us without further testimony, which we may now proceed thankfully to examine.

What we have seen thus far in the Divine Scriptures may amount only to bare probability, yet it is weighty enough to suggest two important considerations. For, first, it plainly refuses to

¹ "For to us," as Bishop Butler observes, "*probability* is the very guide of life. If, then, in questions of difficulty, . . . the result of examination be, that there appears, on the whole, any the lowest presumption on one side, and none on the other, or a greater presumption on one side, though in the lowest degree greater; this determines the question even in matters of speculation, and in matters of practice will lay us under an absolute and formal obligation." *Analogy*, Introd.

sanction, and is inexplicable upon, any of the modern theories of ecclesiastical discipline; whereas, secondly, it not only does not contravene, but tends in a remarkable way to confirm the ancient polity. So much seems undeniable; and it is of no inconsiderable force. But if a man be not quite convinced, he might be supposed to say to himself at this point of our argument, “St. Paul desired the Churches to ‘hold the traditions which they had been taught *by word* as well as by his epistles;’ and seems to intimate that they *must* do so, if they hoped to ‘stand fast.’¹ Those traditions, whatever they were, we must be bound to hold as well as they, unless Christians have different obligations at different ages. And perhaps they might include some notice of this very point, and explain, which the Bible does not,² the true meaning of these allusions to St. James. At any rate it must be lawful to covet the knowledge of truths, whether great or small, which an Apostle *commanded* our forefathers to hold.³ Without that knowledge these passages of Holy Scripture,

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 15. “Unde patet, quod multa in Ecclesia non scripta sunt ab Apostolis docta, et ideo servanda.” S. Thomas Aquinas, *in loc.*

² “Quod totum provisum divinitus esse non dubito, ad edomandam labore superbiam, et intellectum a fastidio renovandum, cui facile investigata plerunque vilescunt.” Aug. *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. ii. cap. vi.

³ Why should we not be able to make the same boast as our Fathers? Ποῖον, εἰπέ μοι, τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἐνταλμάτων ἢ μικρὸν ἢ μέγα πρὸς ἡμῶν οὐ τετήρηται; S. Cyrill. Alex. *Contra Julian*. lib. x. tom. vi. p. 327.

not to mention others, must remain for ever unexplained, which can hardly be the will of God. And it will be no mark of disrespect for His word, to search for aids towards its better understanding. Would, then, that some who lived at the time of the Apostles, or knew from others what they taught, had left some writings by which I might find how to decide for myself in this matter!"

This sort of language, I say, would be very likely to be used by an earnest and humble-minded person resolved, if possible, to obey "*a jealous God*" in all things. And to such a man we should have to give the glad intelligence, that it has pleased God to preserve to our times the writings of men who lived with the Apostles, and were taught by them or their disciples, and who not only knew but practised too all those "traditions," the observance of which St. Paul so emphatically enjoins. To those writings, the repository of Apostolical Tradition, we will now accompany our supposed inquirer. Others may fear to listen to such teaching, lest they hear truths which they have purposed not to receive, and shrink from words which might put to shame the fancies they are resolved not to abandon. With such persons we have no sympathy. *We* have formed no notions of our own, which we are determined to maintain at all hazards. We are looking for Truth; and why should we be afraid

to find what we profess to be searching for?¹ We know that St. Timothy was to teach in his generation what St. Paul had taught before him, and that he was to appoint *others* who should perpetuate that teaching.² We will receive it, therefore, most gladly, most thankfully; both because we have an hearty desire to profit by it, and because to reject it would be all one with rejecting St. Paul's commandment—that is, God's word. And when the adversary, compelled by his unhappy position to fear and shun these early teachers, would rebuke us, as though, in listening to them, we preferred the witness of men to the witness of God, we impute such words to the necessity of his case, and so pass them by. It is *because* we love and honour God's word that we will not endure his private and arbitrary interpretation of it; and for this very cause we ask help from our holy Fathers, and refer to them for all which they can tell us;—not for their *opinions*, valuable as these must be, but for their *testimony*; not for what they *thought* would be right, but what they *knew* the Apostles had said to be so. And this we are now about to do in the case before us.

The first witness cited shall be the Apostolic

¹ Like that insincere inquirer spoken of by St. Cyril,
 δεδιὼς μὴ ἄρα τὶ τῶν εἰς ὀρθότητα ἢ ἀλήθειαν, ἢ πεφρονηκὼς ἢ λέγων,
 ἀλφ. *Adv. Nestor.* lib. v. p. 126. Εἰ φοβείσθε τὴν κρίσιν, says
 St. Athanasius, τί ἀπηντᾶτε; ἔδει γὰρ ἢ μὴ ἐλθεῖν, ἢ ἐλθόντας μὴ φεύ-
 γειν. *Ad solit. vitam agentes Epist.* tom. i. p. 819.

² 2 Tim. ii. 2.

Papias. Acquainted with many who had looked upon the Incarnate Saviour, familiar with the friends of Apostles, and the disciple, as it seems, of St. John himself, this ancient Father was likely to know more of St. James than we can do at the distance of almost eighteen centuries. His lightest word will outweigh all the wild assertions of men who speak only from conjecture and their own rude fancies. One sentence is all which we need to quote from him in this place. He is enumerating the various persons mentioned in the Holy Gospels under the name of Mary. Having spoken first of the Blessed Virgin, he notices next the wife of Cleophas or Alpheus, and describes her thus: "*who was the mother of James, the Bishop and Apostle.*"¹ We can hardly be surprised at the intelligence conveyed in this expression, nor deny that it accords exactly with what we read in the Acts and Epistles.

Let Ignatius, more ancient still, also the honoured friend of Apostles, speak next. Having occasion to make mention of the proto-martyr, St. Stephen, he calls him "*the Deacon of James.*"² Now let us hear Hegesippus, who wrote only fifty-eight years after the death of the Apostle John. He is the earliest ecclesiastical historian of whom we have any account, and composed a work in five

¹ "Maria Cleophæ sive Alphei uxor, quæ fuit mater Jacobi Episcopi et Apostoli." Papiæ *Fragment.* ap. Grabii *Spicileg.* tom. ii. p. 34.

² *Epist. ad Trall.*, quoted by Hammond, *Dissert.* ii. cap. ii. § 3.

books, a very small portion of which has been preserved to our times, though it is referred to by an author of the third century.¹ Speaking, in his history, of the death of St. James, he says, "*James, the Lord's brother, who was surnamed of all men the Just, undertook, together with the Apostles, the government of the Church at Jerusalem.*"² Here we have the testimony of an historian, writing upon facts of which he was intimately cognisant. Symeon, the brother of James, and his successor in the see of Jerusalem, died in possession of that dignity several years after the death of St. John, and therefore after the birth of Hegesippus. And this circumstance alone renders it plainly impossible that Hegesippus could either have been deceived himself, or have succeeded, even upon the injurious supposition that he might have attempted it, in deceiving others.

About thirty years later lived St. Clement of Alexandria, who was known to have been instructed by "the most primitive Elders,"³ and was perhaps the most eminent Christian of his age. He has these words in reference to our subject: "*Peter, and James, and John, after the Resurrec-*

¹ Vide Hieron. *Catal. Script.*, and Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 22.

² Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων Δίκαιος. Hegesip. *De Morte S. Jacobi*, ap. Routh. *Reliq. Sac.* tom. i. p. 192. I have given Lardner's rendering; but vide Petavii *De Ecclesiast. Hierarch.* lib. i. cap. ix. § 11, 12.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14.

*tion of the Saviour, although they were honoured of the Lord, did not contend for the dignity themselves, but made James, the Just, Bishop of Jerusalem."*¹

Hear next St. Jerome, one distinguished even among Saints; himself, like Clement, only a Presbyter; and who thus writes: "*Immediately after the Passion of the Lord, James was ordained by the Apostles Bishop of Jerusalem.*"²

Turn now to the testimony of St. Cyril. He was himself Bishop of Jerusalem A.D. 349; and in a public discourse, delivered in the holy city itself, spoke as follows: "*The care of these matters has not fallen upon me alone, but upon the Apostles, and upon James, who was Bishop of this Church:*" and elsewhere he calls him, "*James, the first Bishop of this Diocese.*"³

We have heard now witnesses from Europe, Asia, and Africa: it seems superfluous to add any thing to their testimony. That which is derived from the historians is of course founded upon their

¹ Πέτρον φησὶ καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον, τὸν Δίκαιον, ἐπίσκοπον τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλέσθαι. Clem. Hypotyp. lib. vi., quoted by Bingham, *Antiq. Ecc.* tom. i. p. 62. ed. Grischov.

² "Post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus." Hieron. *Catal. Script.*, and vide *Adv. Jovianian.* lib. i. cap. xxiv. Cf. Aug. *Contra Literas Petiliani*, lib. ii. cap. li.

³ Περὶ γὰρ τούτων οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, καὶ Ἰακώβῳ, τῷ ταύτης τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπῳ, σπουδὴ γέγονε. S. Cyrill. *Catech.* iv. ἔπειτα ὥφθη τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀδελφῷ Ἰακώβῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς παροικίας ταύτης. *Catech.* xiv.

words. Thus Photius—and he had the use of documents long since perished—tells us that “*James received the sacred unction and the government of Jerusalem at the Lord’s hand.*”¹ And Nicephorus says, “*James was first appointed by the Saviour Christ to the Church at Jerusalem.*”² And lastly, that we may bring these proofs to an end, Eusebius, an earlier historian, has recorded, not only that “*James first received the Bishopric of the Church of Jerusalem,*” but that the very throne in which the blessed Prelate sat had been preserved to his day, and was then openly exhibited to all the faithful as a sacred relic of the Apostolic age.³

The *fact* being thus testified by witnesses so various and so competent—and many more might be adduced⁴—little seems to be needed in the way

¹ Ἰάκωβος ὁ πρῶτος ἀρχιερέων, καὶ δεσποτικῇ χειρὶ τὸ ἱερὸν χρίσμα καὶ τὴν ἐφορείαν Ἱεροσολύμων λαχὼν, προεστήκει . . . κ.τ.λ. Photii *Epist.* cxvii. *Theodorio Monacho*, p. 158. ed. Montacut.

² Τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν Ἰάκωβος πρῶτος παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ ἐγκεχείρισται. Niceph. *Hist.* lib. ii. cap. xxxviii. ap. Morin. *De Sac. Ordin.* par. iii. p. 38.

³ *H. E.* vii. 19: while another writer has even preserved the memorial of an article of his episcopal attire; see St. Epiphan. *Hæres.* 78.

⁴ For, as Archbishop Whitgift observes, “the same thing do *all* ecclesiastical histories and wryters that make any mention of this matter affirme of him.” *Defense of Answer to the Admonition*, p. 384. “It is not to be doubted,” says another, “but that James his being Bishop of Jerusalem was a thing as notorious, and as certainly knowne among Christians in those times, as there is no doubt made among us now, that Dr. Cranmer was Archbishop of Canterbury in King Henry the Eighth’s time.” Bishop Downname, *Def. of Serm.* book iv. ch. iii. Even the adversaries admit what they cannot successfully deny. “Cum magno consensu veteres tradunt,

of comment. The *recognition* in Holy Scripture of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy is all, as has been said, which our case requires; and there is evidently much more than a bare recognition here. The expressions in the Bible which, to say the least, *indicate* that St. James was head of the Church at Jerusalem; and the testimony of holy men, who positively *affirm*, some of them from a personal knowledge of the fact, that he was actually ordained Bishop of that See by the Apostles;—these are in exact accordance with each other. And even if men should venture to reject both, they have still to encounter a new proof, more inflexible than either; namely, that which is supplied by the succession of Bishops continued downwards from St. James himself, and certified to us upon evidence as conclusive as that which we possess of any historical fact whatsoever.¹ It is unnecessary, then, to say more here of the case of St. James. We profess to be searching after truth; it will

eo tempore Jacobum quemdam ut Episcopum Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ præfuisse.” Buddeus, *De Statu Eccles. Christ. sub Apost.* cap. iv. § 3.

¹ The first fifteen Bishops of Jerusalem appear to have been without exception Jews. In the year 135 the Church at Ælia was composed entirely of Gentiles; and then Mark, the first Gentile Bishop, was elected. Since that time the line has continued unbroken, and is traced by Le Quien through 124 Bishops down to Milatheus, A.D. 1733; *De Patriarchatu Hierosolymitano,—Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 106. St. Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 66, tom. i. pp. 636, 7) gives the catalogue of the Bishops of Jerusalem, together with that of the Emperors, down to Hymenæus, the 37th, in the time of Aurelian. Eusebius continues it to Macarius, the 39th.

surely be an evil wilfulness to reject it when found.¹

¹ This the adversaries do not venture to do openly. "From the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles," says one of the most learned among them, "we can perceive that after our Lord's ascension he (St. James) was of note among the Apostles. Soon after St. Stephen's death, in the year 36, or thereabouts, he seems to have been appointed President or Superintendent (!) in the Church of Jerusalem, where, and in Judea, he resided the remaining part of his life. Accordingly he presided at the Council of Jerusalem." Lardner, *Hist. of Writers of N. T.* ch. xvii. This notion of the holy Apostle being turned into a congregational "superintendent," is characteristic of the sect to which Lardner belonged. But they are not all so disingenuous. The famous Peter Du Moulin honestly confessed to Bishop Andrewes, that he believed St. James to have been Bishop of Jerusalem; "*Aerium damnavi; ipsum Jacobum dixi fuisse Episcopum Ierosolymitanum; a quo longa serie deducta est Episcoporum ejusdem urbis successio.*" Petri Molinæi *Epist.* 3^{tia}, ap. Andrewes, *Opuscul.* p. 184 (1629). "Luke describes James," says Martin Bucer, "as Prelate of the whole Church, *and of all the Presbyters;*" and he truly adds, "*Talis ordinatio in aliis quoque Ecclesiis perpetuo observata est, quantum ex omnibus historiis ecclesiasticis cognoscere possumus; etiam apud Patres antiquissimos, ut Tertullianum, Cyprianum, Irenæum,*" &c. *De Animarum Cura*, Opp. p. 280, ed. Basil. 1577. Calvin, as might be expected, is less candid, and tries to get rid of the case,—though he elsewhere contradicts himself,—by saying, "I deny not that he was *Præfect* of the Church of Jerusalem." *In Præfat. ad Jacobi Epist.* His successor, John Diodati, more openly calls him by his right name, "Bishop of Jerusalem;" *Argument. in Ep. S. Jacobi.* Basnage styles him, "*Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ Præses;*" *Exercitat. Histor. Critic.* Ann. 44. p. 506. Even Salmasius confesses that he "*presided with superior authority over the assembly of Presbyters; cœtui Presbyterorum . . . cum auctoritate majore præesset.*" *De Episc. et Presb.* cap. i. p. 46. Francis Buddeus frankly concedes, "*Hunc ipsum Jacobum Episcopum quoque fuisse Hierosolymitanum.*" *De Stat. Ecc.* cap. iv. § 3. p. 230; and see Benzeli *Dissert.* tom. i. p. 545, and the note. (Helmstad.) Many others might be added, whose unwilling admissions are for the most part of that kind noticed by the learned Jesuit Petavius; "*Episcopum fuisse Jacobum partim perfracte negat Salmasius, partim titubanter ac timide fatetur, neque constat sibi.*" *De Ecc. Hierarch.* tom. iv. lib. i. cap. viii. § 1.

CASE OF SAINT TIMOTHY.

II. The next case to which I would direct attention is that of St. Timothy. That a certain jurisdiction was assigned to him also, we know; and we would ascertain its nature and extent. With this object let us refer, as before, to the sure guidance of Holy Writ.

(1.) And first, he was ordained to his office, whatever that may have been, by St. Paul himself. "Stir up the gift of God," that Apostle says, "which is in thee by the putting on *of my hands*."¹ Also this "*Laying on of hands*," which, in our days, is seen to share the fate of other high truths, was from the beginning included amongst the fundamental "*principles*" of the Doctrine of Christ. In a statement of certain essential Catholic verities

¹ 2 Tim. i. 6; and whereas St. Paul speaks elsewhere (1 Tim. iv. 14) of "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" even Calvin acknowledges without reserve, that the expression refers not to presbyters at all, but to the *order* to which Timothy was then appointed. "Quod in altera epistola de impositione manuum presbyterii dicitur, non ita accipio quasi Paulus *de seniorum collegio* loquatur; sed hoc nomine *ordinationem ipsam* intelligo: quasi diceret, Fac ut gratia quam per manuum impositionem recepisti, *quum te Presbyterum crearem*, non sit irrita." Calvin. *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. iii. § 16. And this opinion of Calvin's Grotius applauds and embraces, saying, "ut πρεσβυτέριον officii sit nomen non cætus admodum probabiliter sentit magnus ille Calvinus." *Ordin. Holland. et Westfrisiæ Piet.* p. 98. "Presbyterium est *ordo*," says a very different writer, "qui manuum impositione *confertur* ad conficienda et dispensanda Sacramenta," &c. Pet. De Marca, *De Concord. Sac. et Imp.* lib. ii. cap. xiii. tom. i. p. 280.

which constitute what St. Paul calls "*the foundation*" of Christian Doctrine, this occupies a place. "Repentance," "Faith," "Baptism," "Resurrection," and "Eternal Judgment"—these are the doctrines with which the "Laying on of hands" is classed by the Holy Spirit.¹ And it is of this "Laying on of hands" that some men, in our days, fear not to speak lightly.

(2.) "The gift" which St. Timothy had received was imparted by such an imposition; and the sacred hands which touched his head, in order to its communication, were those of an *Apostle*. "Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the laying on of *my* hands." And now what authority had been committed to him? The following particulars seem to have been included in it.

(3.) First, he was to "charge some that they *teach* no other doctrine"² but that which he had received. Observe, not only the people, but their pastors, their "*teachers*," were under his authority; *these* also he was to admonish, which surely it were idle to do, if he possessed not the power to restrain them. St. Paul would hardly bid him assume a supremacy where all were of equal rank, or assert a superiority which none were to recognise. He *possessed*, therefore, the powers which he was instructed to use; and both priest and people knew that he possessed them.³

¹ Heb. vi. 1, 2.

² 1 Tim. i. 3.

³ If Timothy were only a Presbyter equal to the rest, "those

Again, he was to “*command*,”¹—with little efficacy, we must suppose, unless he could compel obedience. He was to “*teach* ;” and not only so, but to empower others to do the like : “ The same commit *thou* to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.”² They could not teach, therefore, till *he* gave them license, nor teach any thing but what he bade them, nor at all unless they were “ faithful men,” of which he was the only judge. Their qualifications, their orders, and their preaching, had, so to speak, no existence but in relation to him. Again, he was to “*receive accusations*,” even against “*Elders*,” and that in solemn state, “*before two or three witnesses*”³ at least. And this was a weighty office ; for we may not think that he held the judge’s seat without his power. Any how it is plain that he did not ; for he was not

Teachers were as good as he ; what, then, had he to do to charge Teachers ? or what would those Teachers care for his charge ? How equally apt would they be to charge him to keep within his own compass, and to meddle with his own matters ! It is only for superiors to charge, and inferiors to obey.” Bp. Hall, *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, § 5, p. 193. “ How vaine and frivolous,” says Bishop Bilson, “ were all those protestations made by St. Paul, if Timothy and Titus had only voyces amongst the rest, and nothing to do but as the rest ! how farre was the Apostle overseene to adjure them, and not the whole Presbyterie, to keep his prescriptions inviolable, if the Elders might every houre countermand them and over-rule them by number of voyces !” *Perpetual Government of the Church*, chap. v. Τί εἶχε πρᾶγμα, asks St. Epiphanius, ἐπίσκοπον πρεσβυτέρῳ μὴ ἐπιπλήττειν, εἰ μὴ ᾗν ὑπὲρ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ;—and he adds, “ there is no admonition given to Presbyters not to rebuke Bishops.” *Hæres.* 75, tom. i. p. 910.

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 11.

² 2 Tim. ii. 2.

³ 1 Tim. v. 19.

only to "receive accusations," but also, if it became necessary, to pronounce judgment: he was to "*re-buke*,"¹ and that publicly, "*before all*," to the intent "that others also *might fear*;" which they would scarcely do but in the apprehension of punishment. Men are not wont to care much for the rebuke of their equals.

Moreover, he was to confer upon others the sacred "*gift*" after that specific form in which it had been conveyed to himself; he was to administer, not lightly nor inconsiderately, the same sacramental rite whence he had derived his own prerogative. "*Lay hands suddenly on no man*,"² was the great Apostle's injunction; and solemnly does he charge his immediate successor, "before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels," that in the exercise of his Office he should shew "*no preference of one above another*," nor "*do any thing by partiality*."³ The Apostle, then, who could not be mistaken, judged that he had something to give worth having, or how should any one gain by his preference, or lose by his partiality? Also, he might, if he chose, dispense his gifts to this man or that, to the unfaithful instead of the "faithful." It were a crime in him, but he had power to do it; else why was this warning needed?

Lastly, as being now to be left alone, he was to look well to himself henceforward, and, as his great

¹ 1 Tim. v. 20.

² Ib. v. 22.

³ Ib. v. 21.

predecessor had done, to “keep that good thing committed to him.” “Let no man despise thy youth,” was St. Paul’s word to him. “Make full proof of thy ministry,” he added; “*for I* am now ready to be offered, and the time of *my* departure is at hand.” He was now to take up the Office which St. Paul was about to lay down: it behoved him to discharge it well, and carefully to hand it on to the generation following; for all which had been enjoined upon him was not delivered for his own sake only, but to be kept, so the blessed Apostle spake, whole and inviolate “*until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.*”¹

I have examined sufficiently the Epistles to Timothy, wishing only to notice, as in the former case, expressions which indicate that he possessed authority of a *peculiar* and *eminent* kind. This is all which the course of my argument requires. Other passages might have been quoted from these Epistles in confirmation of those already adduced; but these are enough for the present purpose—they are enough, our position being such as it is. For since Prophecy has distinctly marked out a certain Ecclesiastical System, which should be coeval with the first preaching of the Gospel of Christ, and History has recorded the existence of a corresponding System from that very epoch down to the age in which we ourselves live; then, if that

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 14.

which these Scripture-notice of the New Testament seem, however obscurely, to *recognise*, be not the very System in which both we and our fathers have lived, we must suppose one of two things;—either that those numerous passages which speak of a Church and its Discipline have no definite signification whatever, which were to dishonour the Blessed Spirit by Whom they were delivered; or, that though they do point to an Institution then established by the Apostles, and thenceforward to increase and prosper throughout all time, *that* Institution was presently defaced and destroyed;—either that those passages do not, though they *seem* to do so, contemplate any Church at all, or else that the Church of the New Testament had no existence for fifteen ages; for, during all that period, there was, confessedly, but that one alone of which we are members. If, therefore, in other words, such passages as those above cited do not refer to, and so sanction, that which we call “the Church,” they can refer to nothing; for there has been no other Church till yesterday which even professed to answer to them;—and if they do, they would suffice for the present argument, even though they were much fewer and less emphatic than they are;—which is what I began by saying.

And now if, after what we have seen, we should find that St. Timothy was indeed Bishop of Ephesus, we can hardly refuse to believe it on account of any counter evidence from Scripture. That evi-

dence is all in one direction. It tells us plainly enough that he possessed certain great gifts and powers, a signal kind of authority, committed to him by the laying on of an Apostle's hands. It tells us that he was empowered by the Holy Ghost to restrain, to rebuke, and to censure not only the Lord's flock, but also the Pastors of that flock, the Presbyters or Elders who either had been by other Apostles or should be by himself ordained; and it teaches that, in the exercise of his high Office as a spiritual Judge, he was amenable to no human authority, nor responsible before any tribunal but that of Christ Himself. To his rule both Priest and people were subject; but *he* was made subject to no man.

Such are the intimations to be gathered from Holy Scripture with respect to the Office which St. Timothy held in the Church. That they do harmonise very exactly with the belief and practice of that Church in all ages, will not be denied. It is an agreement which every true believer would confidently expect; for the faithful are taught that the Bible and the Church, being the creation of the same Lord, can never contradict each other; —that would be, if it may be said, as if He should contradict Himself. The Church *teaches* that St. Timothy was a Bishop; the Bible, as we have seen, *confirms* her teaching: it remains that we hear lastly the additional testimony of those ancient witnesses, who were able to speak on this

matter with a confidence and assurance, by which we may well be thankful to the divine goodness that we are permitted to profit.

It will not be necessary to make many references in this case, because it is similar to the last, and may be proved by testimony as abundant. I begin with two most ancient records of the martyrdom of St. Timothy; of which one was written by Polycrates, himself Bishop of Ephesus but a few years later, and born only thirty-seven years after St. John wrote his Epistle to the Angel of that Church;¹ and the other by a writer whose name has not survived, but who affirms, as expressly as the former, the Episcopal character of St. Timothy. His words are these: “*The Apostle Timothy was ordained, by the illustrious Paul, Bishop of the metropolitan city of the Ephesians, and there enthroned.*”² These are plain words, and very much to the point. They accord with St. Paul’s own expressions in the Epistles to Timothy, and serve to explain what we read there about his “receiving accusations against Elders,” “rebuking publicly that others also might fear,” and so on. And if any refuse to receive such evidence, we can only say with a great writer of our communion,

¹ Vide Usserii *Opuscula*.

² Ὁ ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου καὶ χειροτονεῖται τῶν Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἐνθρονίζεται. *Martyrium Timothei Apostoli*, ap. Photii *Biblioth.* num. 254. Accordingly the Pseudo-Areopagite addresses him as Pontifex, or High Priest. Dionysii Areopag. *De Cœlest. Hierarch.* cap. ix. p. 3. ed. Corderii.

“He that will not give faith upon current testimonies, and uncontradicted by Antiquity, is a madman, and may as well disbelieve every thing which he hath not seen himself.”¹ The man who is casting about for an apology for having already deserted the Church of Christ may reject it, because it condemns himself; but we are concerned rather with those whose profession it is, that they seek, not their own, but their Lord’s will.

Let us hear now the famous ecclesiastical historian. He tells us that “*Timothy is related in history to have first received the Bishopric of the Diocese of Ephesus, as Titus also did of the Churches of Crete.*”² St. Jerome says, “*Timothy was ordained Bishop of the Ephesians by the blessed Paul.*”³ And this is confirmed by the voices of all who have any claim to be heard in such a matter. Only one more witness shall be cited, because he spoke under peculiar circumstances, and his evidence is such as can hardly be gainsayed.

At the Council of Chalcedon, held A.D. 451,

¹ Bishop Jeremy Taylor. “Si enim ea quæ non vidimus, hoc est, in præsentia non sensimus vel mente vel corpore, neque de Scripturis sanctis vel legendo vel audiendo didicimus, nulla omnino credidissimus, unde sciremus esse civitates ubi nunquam fuimus; vel a Romulo conditam Romam; vel, ut de propinquieribus loquar, Constantinopolim a Constantino? Unde postremo sciremus quinam parentes nos procreavissent, quibus patribus, avis, majoribus, geniti essemus?” Aug. *Epist.* cxii. *Paulinæ*, tom. ii. p. 200.

² Τιμόθεος γε μὴν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι, ὥς καὶ Τίτος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν. *H. E.* iii. 4.

³ “Timotheus Ephesiorum Episcopus ordinatus a beato Paulo.” *Catal. Script. Eccles.*

there were present a multitude of Bishops. Among these was Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia in Asia; and it is to his words that I am going to refer. They occur in the course of an address which he made to the Fathers assembled in that holy Council; and being obviously incidental, are the more valuable for our purpose. It was being discussed, with whom lay the right of electing and consecrating a Bishop of Ephesus, upon the deposition of the Prelate of the day; whether with that present Council, or with the Synod of the province of Asia. The latter view was maintained by Leontius, who appealed, as if to a recognised fact which could not be disputed, to the ancient and uniform *custom*. It was for Ephesus itself that he claimed the privilege in question, and it was thus that he enforced the claim: "*From the holy Timothy,*" said he, before all that grave assembly, "*to the present time, there have been twenty-seven Bishops, all of whom were ordained in Ephesus.*"¹

Here we may conclude the present case. I forbear to quote further the ancient writers who, with one voice, speak of St. Timothy as exercising the authority of Bishop of Ephesus. If the above

¹ Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο, πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ χειροτονήθησαν. Concil. Chalcedon. *Actio Undecima*, ap. Labbei et Cossart. *Concil. Max.* tom. iv. p. 700. "Certainly none can imagine," says Bishop Morton upon these words, "but that even shame itself would have restrained Leontius from making such a public declaration in the hearing of above 600 Fathers, if the matter itself had been liable to any contradiction." *Episcopacy Asserted Apostolical*, chap. iv. § 20.

do not prove the point, no amount of evidence will suffice to do so. And surely it does add something to the force of all this testimony, that until these last days no man ever doubted it;—that all the servants of God, for many successive ages, would as little have thought of denying that Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus, as that the Epistles addressed to him were written by St. Paul—*both facts having been delivered to them upon exactly the same testimony.*¹

CASE OF SAINT TITUS.

III. Consider next the case of Titus. He too was ordained by St. Paul; and why? Hear the Apostle himself, who can best tell us. “For *this* cause left I thee in Crete, that *thou* shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and *ordain elders in every city*, as I had appointed thee.”² Now

¹ “That Timothy was a Bishop, and Bishop of Ephesus, the metropolis or chief city of Asia, is so fully attested by all antiquity, that he must be either very ignorant or very shameless that shall deny it, especially there being besides very plain evidence of the episcopal power and authority wherewith he was invested in this very Epistle of St. Paul written to him.” Bp. Bull, *Sermon* xiii. Works, vol. i. p. 328. Certainly, “if to model Churches, to prescribe Rules, to confer holy Orders, to command, examine, judge, and reprehend offenders openly (even Presbyters themselves),—I say, if these are parts of Episcopal power, then was Timothy a Bishop indeed: and I should be loth to see half that charter given to a single Presbyter which is here given to Timothy by this great Apostle.” Pelling, *Antiquity of Episcopacy*, p. 39.

² Tit. i. 5. “By this passage our Presbyterian brethren are, not without reason, put to great straits. The shifts to which they are

“there were presbyters at Ephesus besides Timothy, and in Crete besides Titus; and yet Paul left the one at Ephesus to impose hands, and the other in Crete to ordain presbyters in every city. If without them the presbyters in either place might have done it, superfluous was both Paul’s charge they should do it, and directions how they should do it. But his committing that power and care to them proveth, in the judgment of the Ancient Fa-

driven may be conceived when (one of their most famous teachers) resorts to the disingenuous device of explaining it of the *interposition* of Titus,—*i. e.* with the congregation,—which, he adds, would have great weight with them!” Bloomfield, *Annot.* vol. viii. p. 346. “*Delegatus Apostoli vicarius fuit,*” says another of them; “*et ejus potestate et vice omnia regit.*” J. H. Bœhmer. *Dissert. Juris Ecclesiast. Antiq.* Diss. vii. p. 403. But “each hath an interpretation;” and it would be tedious to notice more of them. It is, however, observable how far the disciples have got beyond their master. With Calvin this one passage was proof enough of the imparity of ministers. “*Discimus ex hoc loco,*” says he, “*non fuisse tunc æqualitatem inter Ecclesiæ ministros, quin unus præesset auctoritate et consilio.*” *In loc.:* and again, *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. iv. § 2. He and his successors laughed to scorn the notion of ministerial parity. “*Absit a nobis,*” says Beza, “*ut ullam ἀραξίαν invehamus in Ecclesiam Dei, quæ sane invehatur necesse est, si omnia Ecclesiæ munera inter se paria et æqualia faciamus.*” *De Ecclesia*, cap. v.,—*Tractat. Theolog.* tom. i. p. 33 (ed. 1582). So Salmasius still more emphatically; “*Nunquam Ecclesia sine primatu fuit. . . . Nullum sane dari potest corpus, ordo, vel cœtus, sive civilis, sive ecclesiasticus, qui sane primatu fuerit, aut qui etiam possit sine primatu subsistere.*” *Ad Mil-tonum Respons.* cap. iii. p. 347. So Martin Bucer, *Explicat. de Vi et Usu S. Minist.* p. 565; and *De Ordinatio. Legit. Minist. Ecc.* p. 259. These men, who, in the language of the great Bramhall, “juggled themselves into as absolute a papacy as ever was within the walls of Rome”—*Fair Warning of Scottish Discipline*, ch. viii. p. 506—certainly were of the same mind with the subtle Greek,—

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω,
Εἰς βασιλεύς.

Il. ii. 204.

thers, that the presbyters without them could not do it.”¹ This seems unanswerable; for if the presbyters who were in Crete before the appointment of Titus had power to ordain others, why was he sent for this special purpose—“*for this cause,*” as the Apostle says?

In truth this one Scripture, even if there were no other such, is enough, as has often been remarked, to discredit all the inventions of modern times.² The whole course of history agrees exactly with it. From “the beginning” we find Bishops so ordaining; here St. Paul bids them to do it; and never for fifteen ages did any question it, till they who had ventured to cast off God’s Discipline, and set up their own, were *obliged* to do so, that they might defend their own profaneness. So that we might safely rest our cause upon this one text, if need were, and challenge the adversary to

¹ Bilson, *Church Government*, book xii. p. 225. “La subordination dans la conduite et dans la hierarchie de l’Eglise,” says Quesnel upon the same text, “et la diversité de degrés des pasteurs, se trouvent établies dès le tems des Apôtres par l’ordre de Jésus-Christ, qui les a instruits de vive voix.”

² Of which it has been well said, that before their advocates can excuse them, “they must first put the Epistles to Timothy and Titus out of the Bible.” Thorndike, *Primitive Government of Churches*, ch. xii. And this, as Clement of Alexandria notices, some ancient heretics actually did; *Stromat.* lib. ii. p. 383. Marcion, too, rejected them, as Tertullian informs us; *Adv. Marcion.* lib. v. cap. xxi. p. 615. Aerius was content to put his own interpretation on them; S. Epiphan. *Hæres.* lxxv. pp. 908-10;—and it is worthy of notice, that his very words have been commonly used both by Presbyterians and Socinians. Vide Crellii *Annot. ad Tit.* i. apud *Biblioth. Fratr. Polon.*

impugn it. "For," as it has been said, "unlesse they be able to shew, that in the first two hundred yeares the Presbyters either had *de jure* the power to ordaine, or that *de facto* they did use to ordaine, which they will never be able to shew, the worst of these testimonies for the Bishops is of more worth than all that they shall be able to say against them. Let them produce, if they can, any one sentence, out of Councils, Histories, or Fathers, proving that Presbyters without a Bishop had right to ordaine, and I will yield to them."¹ Meanwhile, until they perform this impossibility, we must have leave to think that the Sacred Scriptures mean what they seem to mean, and that all those holy men of God who believed Titus to be a Bishop, and that St. Paul made him so, were not mistaken in their belief.

It would be easy to accumulate passages from Scripture asserting for Titus, as for the others, that eminent power which none but Bishops have ever exercised. Thus, he was to "*exhort*," and to "*re-buke with all authority*."² Again; "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, *reject*."³ So that to his Office belonged the power of *Ordination*, *Admonition*, and *Excommunication*; and "each of these and the like Apostolical injunctions do fully express an Episcopal function and authority over Presbyters, and the whole Churches

¹ Downname, *Defence of Sermon*, book iii. ch. iv. p. 90.

² Tit. ii. 15.

³ Tit. iii. 10.

under them.”¹ Moreover, these injunctions were addressed to him personally: I left *thee*; I appointed *thee*; do *thou* rebuke with all authority; do *thou* reject heretics. Which observation might have been made with respect to St. Timothy also. “This charge I commit unto *thee*, son Timothy;” “these things write I unto *thee*,” “that *thou* mightest charge some;” “against an Elder receive not *thou* an accusation,” &c.;—we only hear of Elders as being *subject* to the authority of St. Timothy, and they never complained of being in subjection.² And certainly “receiving accusations against a man, examining witnesses in the case, and rebuking or censuring according to the demerit, is jurisdiction and superiority, or I know not what is. Were these presbyters, then, *equal* to Timothy their Bishop? was Bishop and presbyter, then, the same thing? had every presbyter the same authority over Timothy that Timothy had over him? That would have made a wild sort of government.”³ And yet we are asked to believe that it was thus ordained by the Apostle; or, if we like not this, to suppose that Timothy and Titus were indeed what the Universal Church believed them to have

¹ Bp. Morton, *Episcopacy Apostolical*, ch. iv. § 5.

² “The Bishops (then) pretended to no more than presbyters were willing to yield them; and presbyters claimed no more than Bishops were ready to allow them. Their contentions lay chiefly with those that were without; these intestine feuds and broils being reserved for our unhappy days.” Bp. Burnet, *Observations on the Second Canon*, p. 57.

³ Leslie, *Rehearsals*, no. 281.

been ; but that, in spite of St. Paul's express words to the contrary, they were to have no successors in their Office, which was to cease with themselves, and then all be reduced to parity of rank and power !¹ And this we are invited to accept for truth, in opposition to our own natural senses, the plain words of Holy Scripture, and the unanimous faith of all ages, places, and people. Such reasonings seem to be sufficiently answered by those words of one of our Fathers : “ Did you pleade before the poorest Jurie that is for earthly trifles, they woulde not credite your worde without some witnesse ; and in matters of religion, that touch the peace and safetie of the whole Church of Christ, do you looke your voluntarie should be received without all authoritie or testimonie to warrant it ? If your follie be such as to expect so much at other men's hands, their simplicitie is not such as to yield it. Indeed, to my conceiving, the summe of your answer is very like the forme of your discipline,—neither of them hath any prooffe, possibilitie, nor coherencie.”²

The case needs no further pressing, being so like the others. A few passages shall be added in order to prove,—what it is not very reasonable in

¹ “ Me quod attinet, libens agnoscam, Ecclesiis ab Apostolis Episcopos, qui Presbyteris gradu aliquo essent superiores, adeoque collegii Presbyterorum præsides, fuisse præpositos.” Limborch. *Theolog. Christian.* lib. viii. cap. iv. § 7: only, Limborch adds, though the Apostles thus instituted Episcopacy, they did not mean that it should never be changed !

² Bilson, chap. xiii. p. 270.

this age of the world that we should be called on to prove,—that we have in St. Titus another instance of that Office which the whole Church, without contradiction of friend or enemy, believed for so many centuries to be of Divine appointment.

We have seen Eusebius saying, that the Episcopal government of the Cretan Churches by Titus was an historical fact; and it appears that he was not only Bishop, but Archbishop of that province.¹ For we learn, upon the same good authority, that, as early as the reign of M. Aurelius, A.D. 161,—that is, let it be observed, little more than half a century after the death of St. John,—Philip was Bishop of Gortyna, and Pinytus Bishop of Gnossus, *Dioceses of Crete!*² And St. John Chrysostom records expressly of Titus, that “the whole island, and the charge of its *Bishops*, was committed to him.”³

One cannot marvel that the adversaries profess

¹ “I told you before, that although this name Archbishop is not expressed in Scripture, yet is the office and function, as it is evidently to be seen in the examples of Timothy and Titus, yea and in the Apostles themselves; . . . and therefore M. Bucer, writing upon Ephes. iv. sayth thus: ‘Miletum Presbyteros Ecclesiæ Ephesinæ convocat; tamen quia unus inter eos præerat aliis, et primam Ecclesiæ curam habebat, in eo proprie residebat nomen Episcopi.’” Whitgift, *Defense of Answer to the Admonition*, p. 313. “Ecce Metropolitani institutionem!” says De Marca, *De Concord. Sac. et Imp.* lib. vi. cap. i.

² Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23; and vide Hieron. *Catal. Script. Eccles.* “Primaria olim insulæ Cretæ civitas Gnossus fuit, sed cujus potentiæ infinitis fortunæ casibus extincta demum fuit, et ad Gortynam translata.” Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 266.

³ Αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ὁλόκληρον ἐπέτρεψεν . . . τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσιν ἐνέτρεψεν. *Homil. i. in Tit. i.* tom. iv. p. 381.

so great scorn of human testimony ; it is their wisdom to do so, for it is all against themselves. But then, if they would be consistent, they should reject that same testimony in settling the Canon of Scripture. For if the Primitive Fathers knew what Scriptures the Apostles wrote, they knew also what Government the Apostles framed ; if they could arrange the Bible,¹ they may very well define the

¹ It may be well to explain what is meant by this expression :—

(1.) An Epistle was written by St. Clement, the “ fellow-labourer ” of St. Paul, to the Church at Corinth. After an interval of more than 100 years, we find (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 16 and iv. 23, and Hieron. *Catal. Script.*) that it continued to be read on Sunday in the Churches. And the letter which was thus honourably used by the primitive Christians was written before some portions of the Canonical Scriptures were even composed, and long before they were collected together. How is it, then, that this Epistle of St. Clement does not form part of the New Testament ? If the public reading in the congregation gave canonical authority to the books so read, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Acts of the Martyrs*, and many other writings formerly read in the Churches, would at this day be canonical (vide Wetstenii *Not. in Epist. Africani ad Orig.* p. 160) ; but they are not : why is this ? Whatever, then, procured for any Writing admission into the Sacred Canon, it is evident that the mere reading in the Churches was not enough to do so.

(2.) Again ; St. Barnabas was, or was supposed to be, the author of an Epistle, which was entitled, so late as the time of Origen, “ *the Catholic Epistle of Barnabas* ”—vide Orig. *Contra Celsum*, lib. i. p. 49 ; and Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* lib. ii. p. 373 ;—yet this Epistle too is excluded from the Canon. It follows, therefore, yet further, that neither the authority of an Apostle’s name, nor yet the title of ‘ Catholic,’ sufficed to this end.

(3.) Again ; the Saints differed for a long time amongst themselves as to which were the Canonical Books. Thus St. Irenæus (iv. 20) quotes the *Shepherd of Hermas* in that sacred character, and Clement of Alexandria (Pearson. *Vindic. Ignat.* pars i. cap. iv. p. 39) does the same ; yet Tertullian, as Beaven notices in his *Account of St. Irenæus*, p. 126, “ affirms that the Italian Churches had in express councils declared his book apocryphal.” Similar contrarieties

Church. If their evidence on the one point be worth little, how much is it worth on the other?

of opinion existed with respect to the Revelation of St. John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which were accepted by some, and rejected by others;—vide S. Hieron. *Epist.* ciii. *Paulino*, tom. iii. p. 340;—and so fluctuating, if the expression may be used, was the Canon of Scripture, that, as late even as the time of St. Austin, we find rules laid down by that distinguished Saint for determining it. (Aug. *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. ii. cap. viii. tom. iii. p. 11; who elsewhere applies these rules to the false scriptures of the Manicheans; *Contra Faustum*, lib. xxii. cap. lxxix. tom. vi. p. 181.) This difference of opinion amongst the great lights of the Primitive Church carries us one step further,—it shews that it was not upon their *internal evidence* alone that a place was assigned to these Scriptures; for if it had been, how could the Saints *differ* about them?

(4.) Once more. Besides the Scriptures which the Fathers found in their hands, new ones were perpetually springing up, with whose claims they were at first perplexed. It was a common thing for heretics to give the name of a prophet or apostle to some apocryphal writing, and then to insist upon its reception. (J. A. Fabricius, *In S. Philastr.* cap. lxxxviii. p. 166.) Writings attributed to Apostles, the Blessed Virgin, and even to our Lord Himself (Ittigius, *Dissert. 1^{ma} de Pseudepigraphis*), abounded; and, as Agrippa Castor relates of Basilides, some even ventured to speak and write, in their own name, as inspired prophets. Now the history of these and similar writings furnishes one additional fact, the last which I shall notice in this place;—it shews, that whatever authority may have prevailed to extend the Canon, it was *the Voice of the Church* which excluded from it.

Now let us see what follows from all this in relation to the structure of the Sacred Canon. The evidence adduced is of two kinds, positive and negative. From the first it appears, that the Scriptures which were rejected from it were rejected *by the Church*; and from the second, that it was neither (1) the public reading in the Churches, nor (2) the authority of an Apostle's name, nor (3) the internal evidence of the writings themselves, which gave them a place in it: then it only remains to ask, What was it which did so? or, in other words, *upon what evidence* was any given writing received by the Church as plenarily inspired? This question, it seems, cannot be answered without affirming the truth above stated,—that the Bible is given to us *on the testimony of the Primitive Church*. And if the Rule of Faith, why not the Rule of Discipline too?

If they have deceived us, or themselves, about Episcopacy, are we quite sure they were right about Inspiration? If they have commended to us a *false Government*, how do we know that they have handed down to us *true Scriptures*? To those who know of no guides earlier than the sixteenth century, and acknowledge no law save their own wild fancies, this is a serious question. But it is our happiness to have no fears on either point. This is the privilege of the Catholic Christian; to whom only is the promise given, that “he shall dwell safely, and shall be quiet from fear of evil.” But to return.

It seems unnecessary to say more here of Titus, or to heap up proofs for his Office;—as that St. Jerome calls him “Bishop of Crete;”¹ St. Ambrose says, “the Apostle consecrated Titus Bishop;”² Theodoret, that he was “the Bishop of the Cretans;”³ and so the whole band of witnesses. No man ever ventured to deny, till within these last three hundred years, that he was all this; nor despised his sacred office till pride and worse ambition moved some to “take it to themselves.” And it seems answer good enough for such, that—to use the glowing words of a Prelate of our own Church—“this course if you disdain or dislike, you condemne the whole Church of Christ

¹ “Titus Episcopus Cretæ a divo Paulo ordinatus est.” *Catal. Script. Ecc.* The Saint adds, “Ibidem et dormivit, et sepultus est, nempe in Creta.”

² Præfat. in Epist. ad Titum.

³ In 1 Tim. iii.

from the first encreasing and spreading thereof on the face of the earth to this present age; and preferre your owne wisdom — if it be worthie that name, and not rather to be accounted selfe-love and singularitie — before all the Martyrs, Confessors, Fathers, Princes, and Bishops that have lived, governed, and deceased in the Church of God since the Apostles' deaths. How well the heighth of your conceites can endure to blemish and reproach so many religious and famous lights of Christendom, I knowe not; for my part, I wish the Church of God in our dayes may have the grace for pietie and prudencie to follow their steppes, and not to make the world beleewe that all the servaunts of Christ before our times favoured and furthered the pride of Antichrist, till in the endes of the world, when the faith and love of most men are quenched and decaied, we came to restore the Church to that perfection of discipline which the Apostles never mentioned, the auncient Fathers and Councils never remembered, the universall Church of Christ before us never conceived nor imagined.”¹

CASE OF THE ANGELS OF THE ASIAN CHURCHES.

IV. I proceed to consider one other case out of the same Divine Oracles to which our appeal has been hitherto confined. It is to “the vision

¹ Bilson, ch. xvi. p. 394.

and charge of the blessed Apostle St. John, in his Revelation," that we are about to refer. The subject is a solemn one, and needs to be approached with a cautious and lowly mind: if men will rush upon it in a careless, disputatious mood, we cannot help it, nor do more than speak a warning both to ourselves and others.

"Blessed is he that readeth," says the "Disciple whom Jesus loved," "and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and *keep those things which are written therein.*"¹ In humble hope to share this promised blessing, let us listen now to his message.

"John *to the seven Churches* which are in Asia: . . . I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven Churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea. And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, I saw *seven golden candlesticks*; and in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of Man . . . and He had in His right hand *seven stars* . . . and when I saw Him I fell at His feet as dead." The explanation of this great vision was vouchsafed by Him who alone could give it.

¹ Apoc. i. 3.

“The seven stars are *the Angels* of the seven Churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are *the seven Churches*.”¹ Now what these *Churches* were, we know, for they are all enumerated; but who were the *Angels*? This is the question which we are to consider.

(1.) In the first place, then, the “Angels” were not “the Churches.” This is evident, for they are all along distinguished as “*seven stars*,” while the Churches are as plainly said to be “*seven candlesticks*.” “the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are *the seven Churches*.” The “seven stars,” which the Lord “had in His right hand,” were something else. It was, therefore, to “*the Angel* of the Church of Ephesus,” and not to “*the Church* of Ephesus,” that St. John was to write. The Angels, that is, were not the Churches.²

¹ Chap. i. St. Augustine thinks the number seven symbolical. “Septem autem Ecclesias quas vocat vocabulis suis, non ideo dicit, quia illæ solæ sunt Ecclesiæ; sed quod dicit uni, omnibus hoc dicit. Denique sive in Asia, sive in toto orbe, septem Ecclesias omnes esse, et unam esse Catholicam.” *Homil. i. in Apocal.* tom. ix. p. 352: and vide *Epist. cxix. Januario, De Ritibus Ecclesiæ*, tom. ii. p. 215; and *Epist. clxi.* p. 276, where he says the number 7 represents Universality. See also Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* lib. vi. p. 685.

² The attempt to prove this may appear superfluous; yet some of the modern teachers, coerced by the necessities of their theory, have denied it; as Brightman, *In Apoc.* p. 19; and Salmasius, with reference to whose interpretation Bishop Morton observes, “He must first turn stars into candlesticks before he can make Angels to signify the Churches;” and of whose notion he adds, that it would require the words to run thus: “Write to the Church of the Church of Ephesus.” *Episcopacy Apostolical*, ch. iv. § 9. “Vah! quid non facit studium partium!” says Durell; “quo mortales non abducit! Angelus sunt Angeli!” *De Jure Divino Episcopat.* cap. xxx. p. 377.

(2.) But, secondly, neither were they any collective body whatever. "I know *thy* works," is the message to the Angel of the Church of Ephesus, "and *thy* labour, and *thy* patience, and how *thou* canst not bear them that are evil," &c. Were they *all* "patient" in Ephesus? or all "laborious?" had none fainted? did all abhor evil? Or, on the other hand, had *all* "left their first love?" This, we know, is not meant; and, besides, the Angel is commended for having "*tried* them which *say they are Apostles*, and are not."¹ Shall we think that they were all to be trying one another? Or to whom, amongst them all, was this inquisitorial function committed?

Again: in the Church of Smyrna, were all "poor," or all "rich?" And mark the plain distinction between the person addressed as the Angel of that Church, and some others apparently under his charge: to *these* it is said, "Behold, the devil shall cast *some* of you into prison;" and then, the

But these eccentric interpretations began early: vide Aug. *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iii. cap. xxx.; who mentions that the Donatist Ticonius taught this very notion—"ut ipsos Angelos intelligamus Ecclesias." Cf. St. Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 51. § 32, 33.

¹ Apoc. ii. 9. These words refer, St. Austin says, to the Rulers of the Church; *Epist.* clxii. *Contra Donat. Pertinac.* tom. ii. p. 281: and a very different writer confesses them to have no other application. "Vagabantur enim tunc in Asiaticis Ecclesiis impostores, Ebion, Cerinthus, et alii, pro Apostolis Christi se venditantes, . . . de quibus Paulus Ephesinos Presbyteros præmonuerat. Erat igitur *Episcoporum*, pro puritate fidei tuenda se lupis fortiter opponere, quod non segniter *Ephesinum* fecisse Christus testatur." D. Pareus *In Apoc.* p. 67.

singular verb being now used instead of the plural, to the Angel it is added, "Be *thou* faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."¹ We shall see presently who he was, and that he was "faithful unto death."

Again: observe the message to the Angel of the Church in Pergamos. It was his own praise that he had kept the faith: "*thou* holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr." But there were some in Pergamos who had fallen into heresy, holding the doctrine of Balaam and of the Nicolaitanes;² and for this the Angel is severely threatened. Why so, unless, like Timothy and Titus, he had been charged with authority to coerce and restrain them? If all the teachers in that Church were independent, or had equal power, how could *he* help their teaching false doctrine? And why should our Blessed Saviour rebuke him for the faults of men over whom he could exercise no control?

¹ To the first it is said, ἐξετε θλίψιν· and then follow the words, γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου, ii. 10.

² See the paraphrase of Ribera, *Comment. in Apoc.* cap. ii. Upon this passage Bishop Lucy remarks thus: "Here again see the necessity of Ecclesiastical Story to expound this Scripture. What, can any man tell, is the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which God hates, and so we ought to hate, but by Ecclesiastical Story?" *Treatise of the Nature of a Minister*, chap. vii. p. 120 (1670). And this used once to be admitted by all. "Diligenter legendum nobis est ac meditandum Dei verbum," says Beza, "*et veteres ex Patrum scriptis cognoscendæ hæreses.*" *Epist.* xlv. Are they good witnesses against the corruptions of the Truth, and yet not for the Truth itself?

Once more : the Angel of the Church in Thyatira is to be admonished thus : “ I know *thy* works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience. . . . Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, because”—now let his offence be observed—“ because *thou sufferest*, ὅτι ἐᾶς, that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, *to teach* and to seduce my servants.” Now, unless this Angel possessed Episcopal power, what possible signification can attach to these words ? “ For if he had wanted such a power, he would have been unjustly condemned for the wickedness and subtle artifices of this pernicious Jezebel, since he was no otherwise partaker of her wickedness than merely in *suffering* it. . . . For why should he be censured for this matter, unless he had power to cast such persons out of the Church ? It would be unreasonable for him to bear the blame of other men’s faults, if he had no power to correct them.”¹ It seems almost a waste of words to go about to prove so plain a matter. I will only add, in conclusion, that in the

¹ Brett, *Church Government*, ch. iv. p. 67. This is a warning, says a great Saint, to those Rulers of the Church, “ qui luxuriosis et fornicantibus, et aliud quodlibet malum agentibus, severitatem disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ non imponunt.” Aug. *Homil.* ii. p. 354. So a divine of our own : “ I hope the Governors of the Church, in whose hands the censures are, will not be angry with me if I put them in remembrance that God’s controversy with most of the seven Churches was *for want of discipline* ; for suffering the doctrines of Balaam, and the Nicolaitanes, and other pretended false Christians, to go uncensured, and the woman Jezebel to seduce His servants ; and for being slack and lukewarm in discipline, which is the life and soul of every Church.” Hickes, *Three Treatises*,—Epistle to the Reader.

Syriac version, the Alexandrian, and several other manuscript copies, there is no room for the argument at all; for by the addition of the pronoun σου, *thy*, which those copies contain, the passage reads thus, "because thou sufferest *thy wife* Jezebel," &c. and it is actually so cited in one of his letters by the Martyr St. Cyprian.¹ Of course, if this reading be the true one,—and there is authority for it,—there is no longer a question whether the "Angels" spoken of were *individuals*; unless, indeed, we think there was no more distinction of wives in those days than some will allow of offices.

But we need not rely upon this to prove what was never even doubted, till it became necessary to the success of the modern religion that it should be not only doubted but denied. It is not by such arguments that we need to confirm the clear warrant of Holy Writ. For who, it may be asked, would ever have denied these "Angels" to be individuals, and that of eminent power and name, unless his own schemes had required it, and the pride of a human theory had armed him with courage to fight against ancient truth? And is this the spirit in which to read safely this most awful and mysterious Revelation? or to share their blessing who shall "keep those things which are written therein?" Consider one moment the cha-

¹ Vide Potter's *Church Government*, chap. iv. Works, vol. ii. p. 133. (Oxon. 1753.) St. Cyprian quotes the passage thus: "Habeo (inquit) adversus te multa, quod uxorem tuam Jezabel, quæ se dicit propheten, sinis," &c. *Epist.* lii. *Ad Antonianum*.

racter of this portion of Holy Scripture. It is designed to *teach* us something; also its teaching, whatever it be, is *practical*. Seven times it is said, “*He that hath ears to hear, let him hear;*” there is a promise for them who “keep it,” and woe is threatened to the disobedient. And now, *how* does it teach? — Under symbols of Candlesticks and Stars! Is all this so plain and simple that each may safely judge for himself, when the issues of that judgment are more than life or death? And is not the very form of this teaching a solemn warning to us all how we venture to judge at all? Can there be any other true interpretation of it than theirs who first heard it? And shall we not fear to wrest and criticise those words of our Maker, which when St. John heard, he “fell at His feet as dead?”¹

On the whole, is it not plain that the “Angels of the Churches” were persons such as St. James, St. Timothy, and St. Titus,—charged, like them, with the Apostolical Office, and singly responsible for its execution? We have seen those holy Bi-

¹ Τὰ ἀποκεκαλυμμένα τῷ Ἰωάννῃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀναγνοὺς καταπλαγείη τὴν ἐπίκρυψιν τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων, καὶ τῷ μὴ νοοῦντι τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐμφαινομένων; Origen. *Philocal.* cap. i. “Apocalypsis Joannis tot habet sacramenta quot verba.” S. Hieron. *Epist.* ciii. *Paulino*, tom. iii. p. 340: and in the same words St. Peter Damian, *Serm.* ii. *De Excell. B. Joan. Evangel.* And even one of a less reverent school could say, “Obscura quidem illa (prophetia), quod nemo negat, et luminis indiga.” Vitranga, *In Apoc. Præfat.* Here are reasons enough, then, for the cautious handling of a Book, of which these are true descriptions.

shops invested with certain powers, and admonished duly to use them; we see these "Angels," as they are called by the Head of the Church, praised for the discharge of the same functions, or rebuked for the neglect of them; and, in either case, without an allusion to clergy or people, except as being subject to them. St. Timothy and St. Titus were appointed by St. Paul to ordain, to rebuke, and, if necessary, to excommunicate elders; and so "the Apocalyptic Angels are commended for all the good, and charged with all the blame, of their respective jurisdictions; which could not have been if they had been controllable by a majority of suffrages of their several Presbyteries."¹

And now can we judge that saying of good Bishop Hall too bold: "Upon these clear passages of St. Paul and St. John, meeting with the grounds laid by our Blessed Saviour, I am, for my part, so confident of the Divine Institution of the majority of Bishops above Presbyters, that I dare boldly say, there are weighty points of faith which have not so strong evidence in Holy Scripture."² Some

¹ Dodwell, *On the Soul*, Præmonit. § 9. Cf. Barrow, *De Regimine Episcopali*, Works, vol. viii. p. 42.

² *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, § 7. And with the same confidence speaks Hooker: "A thousand five hundred years and upward the Church of Christ hath now continued under the sacred regiment of Bishops. Neither for so long hath Christianity been ever planted in any kingdom throughout the world but with this kind of government alone; which to have been ordained of God, I am for mine own part even as resolutely persuaded, as that any other kind of Government in the world is of God." *E. P.* book vii. vol. iii. p. 173.

such points have been noticed above; and it cannot be denied, that at least the proof in this case is more abundant than that which can be offered, out of Scripture, for many a truth received by universal Christendom. But the goodness of God has provided, in this case too, yet further testimony for all who are willing to use it: to that additional testimony we will now refer. But first let another briefly recapitulate the foregoing arguments, as applied to one only of the seven Angels, whose particular case we will then pursue.

“Wee reade in the Revelation of S. John,” says a learned divine, “of the Angel of the Church of Ephesus, to whom the Spirit of God directeth letters from heaven, as to the Pastour of that Church. It is not to be doubted but that there were many Presbyters, that is, ministers of the Word and Sacraments, in so large a Church as that of Ephesus was; nay, wee reade expressly in the Acts that there were *many* in that Church that fed the flock of Christ, and consequently were admitted into some part of pastorall office and employment: yet was there one among the rest to whom onely the Lord did write from heaven, to whom an eminent power was given, who was trusted with the government of that Church and people in more speciall sort than any of the rest, and therefore challenged by name by Almighty God for the things there found to bee amisse; the

rest being passed over in silence.”¹ Now, the eminence of this person so addressed by Almighty God being thus manifest, it seems natural to inquire next what name he bore.

In the inspired document itself this is not expressed; an omission which has been accounted for, even by one who had not the happiness to be a Catholic, upon the religious and reasonable supposition, that “Christ noted not the names, that His message might seem to be addressed not so much to their Persons as to their Order.”² That message appears to have been written about four years before the close of the first century; a period with respect to which we possess but scanty information in existing records. Still they may supply hints at least towards an approximation to the object of our search; and as in such a matter no evidence can be insignificant, nor any knowledge trivial, we will use thankfully what has been provided for us, whether it be greater or less.

The *first* Bishop of Ephesus, as we have already seen, was St. Timothy; whose martyrdom is narrated by Polycrates, himself the *eighth* Bishop of that See,—of which he was able to say, in a letter

¹ Field, *Of the Church*, book v. p. 498. “Is it possible,” asks the wise Hooker, “that in every of these Churches, even in Ephesus itself, where many such ministers were long before, there was but one such when John directed his speech to the Angel of that Church? If there were many, surely St. John, in naming but one only of them an Angel, did behold in that one somewhat above the rest.” *Ubi supra*, p. 190.

² Pareus, p. 63.

to his brother Apostle of Rome, "*Seven of my kinsmen have been Bishops, and I am the eighth.*"¹ A competent witness truly; but we shall hear him again. Another whom we have heard, occupied the *twenty-seventh* place in the same succession; and in his day the world knew enough at least of his predecessors to be assured that they were "all ordained in Ephesus."² But we are not unable to distinguish other links in this chain of Episcopal Fathers.

There are still extant certain letters of the Martyr Ignatius, the friend of St. Peter and St. John, and Bishop of Antioch in Syria at the very time that the latter Apostle wrote his Revelation. One of these letters, written only eleven or twelve years after that divine Book,³ is addressed "To the Church which is in Ephesus of Asia." In it, then, we may expect to find some allusion to the Bishop of that Church; nor shall we be disappointed. The Martyr was then on his road to death, and had been met, in that his last journey, by one of whom

¹ Ἑπτὰ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὀγδοὺς. S. Polycrat. Epist. ad Victor. Romæque Urb. Ecc. ap. Routh. Rel. Sac. tom. i. p. 371. On the meaning of these words, vide Dodwell, *One Altar*, ch. ix. § 5. p. 243.

² Vide page 55.

³ "The Revelation exhibited unto St. John upon the Lord's Day, is, by Irenæus (in his fifth book), referred unto the empire of Domitian; or, as S. Hierome, in his catalogue, more particularly doth expresse it, to the fourth yeare of his reigne, which . . . was but eleven or twelve yeares before the time when Ignatius did write his Epistles." Usher, *Of the Sabbath, and Observation of the Lord's Day*,—Tracts, p. 93 (1657).

he thus speaks to the Christians at Ephesus : “ How many ye be that be called by the name of God, I have heard from *Onesimus*, whose love is beyond all words, *your Bishop according to the flesh* ; whom I beseech you, by Jesus Christ, to love, and that ye would be all like unto him. And blessed be He who has granted unto you, who are so worthy of him, to enjoy such a Bishop.”¹

Now, that this Onesimus was the very Angel of the Church in Ephesus to whom St. John delivered the message of the Almighty, cannot be positively affirmed. From any thing which has appeared thus far, we learn no more than that he ruled that Church at some period between the Episcopate of Polycrates and of St. Timothy ; and that, at all events, about ten years after St. John wrote the Revelation, he was “ granted by Jesus Christ,” as the Martyr speaks, to be Bishop of the Metropolis of Asia. This one fact is of course proof enough, if it were the only one preserved to us, that Bishops were, by Divine appointment, the Successors of Apostles. But it remains to be added, in relation to the particular inquiry at this point, that according to ancient documents this Onesimus — who was stoned to death at Rome,² and after-

¹ Τὴν πολυπληρίαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπέιληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ, τῷ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγῆτῳ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὃν εὐχομαι κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ ἐν ὁμοιότητι εἶναι. Εὐλογητὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν ἀξίοις οὖσι τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον κεκτῆσθαι. S. Ignat. *Ad Ephes.* § 2.

² “ Vincetus Romam perductus, ac pro fide Christi lapidatus,

wards carried to Ephesus to be buried—was the servant of that Philemon¹ to whom St. Paul wrote an Epistle about the year 64, or nearly fifty years before the date at which we find him to have been Bishop. He must therefore, if he were that very Onesimus, have followed very closely upon Timothy, if indeed he was not his immediate successor, as some writers assert. And this is all which it seems necessary to say about him. St. Timothy is by some supposed to have been martyred before the banishment of St. John, that is, before he wrote the Revelation; and if so, could not have been addressed by him as the Angel of the Church in Ephesus. How far it is probable that Onesimus was that person, let each, after due examination, judge for himself. Thus much, I think, will now be granted, that whoever it was, *it was an individual.*²

Another person to whom the Divine message was sent, was “*the Angel of the Church in Smyrna;*”

primo ibidem sepultus fuit; inde ad locum ubi Episcopus fuerat ordinatus corpus ejus delatum est.” *Martyrologium Romanum*, p. 81. (Antverp. 1613.) Cf. Usuard. *Martyrolog.* 16 Feb.

¹ “Porro hunc Onesimum Ephesiorum Episcopum, eundem esse cum eo de quo agit Paulus apud Philemonem, tam Græcorum Menologium quam Latinorum Martyrologium fidem faciunt.” Baronii *Annal.* A.C. 60.

² See Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, tom. ii. 1^{ère} partie, p. 267. The Angels are admitted to have been *individuals* even by the Presbyterians in the Isle of Wight conferences, by Beza, Cartwright, Reynolds, Blondel, and others. See Abr. Woodhead, *Brief Account of Ancient Church Government*, ch. i. p. 48.

and now we are no longer beset with doubt or encompassed by difficulty. We are able to prove, upon evidence which none have ventured to dispute, that the first Bishop of Smyrna was appointed by the Apostles themselves, and held his Office in their lifetime, and for very many years afterwards, namely, until his death, by martyrdom, in the middle of the second century. And that he was the person referred to in the Apocalypse as “the Angel of the Church in Smyrna,” seems so clear, that the less wilful amongst the adversaries have not attempted to deny it.¹ Let us hear a few witnesses in the case.

¹ “Testatur Irenæus, quod et Eusebius refert, Polycarpum in ea quæ est Smyrnis Ecclesia constitutum fuisse Episcopum. Constat vero, Apostolos omnes præter B. Joannem ante Domitianum vita decessisse. Ergo sub Domitiano *ante Apocalypsin revelatam* Polycarpum fuisse Smyrnæ Episcopum, probabile est.” Pareus, p. 97.

Again ;—

“Principio indicatur, cui destinetur epistola cœlestis, Angelo Smyrnensis Ecclesiæ, id est pastori. Testantur autem historiæ *Angelum sive Pastorem illum Smyrnensis Ecclesiæ Polycarpum fuisse*, ordinatum ab ipsis Apostolis, ab ipso inquam Joanne, *Episcopum*, ac vixisse in ministerio hujus Ecclesiæ annos 86 . . . unde claret, illum factum esse Episcopum Smyrnensem anno Domini circiter 84, ideoque *ante editam Apocalypsin*, quæ 97 anno conscribitur, plures annos ministraverat Ecclesiæ.” Bullinger, *Concio nona in Apocal.* cap. ii. p. 28.

“Polycarpus Ecclesiæ Smyrnæorum *Angelus sive Episcopus* ab ipso Jesu magnopere commendatur, Apoc. ii. 8. Nomen quidem non exprimitur, *alius tamen esse non potest quam Polycarpus.*” G. Calixtus, *De Auctor. Antiq. Eccles.* § 27, pp. 77, 8.

It is admitted somewhat strangely by the Genevan Professor Vedula, who, in his commentary upon the Epistle of St. Ignatius to St. Polycarp, rejects, after Scultetus, the words “obey your Bishop,” on the ground that “Ignatius could not have forgotten *that he was writing to a Bishop.*” The criticism is weak, but that does not affect

And first, we have actually a letter of St. Ignatius addressed to *St. Polycarp*, as the Bishop of Smyrna, in his own day. But lest we should seem to lack testimony, others shall tell us who this holy man was. “Polycarp,” says Irenæus,—himself a Bishop and Martyr,—“was not only made a disciple by the Apostles, and conversant with many who had seen Christ, but was appointed *by the Apostles* over Asia, as Bishop of the Church which is in Smyrna; WHOM ALSO I MYSELF SAW in my early youth, for he lingered long, and was very aged, and having accomplished a glorious martyrdom departed this life.”¹ The same blessed witness—could we have a better?—speaks elsewhere of “those who have received *the throne of Polycarp* down to this day.”² Tertullian, who was born in the age next to the Apostolic, informs us, that the Smyrnæans boasted in his time that they could “trace their succession through Polycarp to the Apostle John, by whom he was appointed the first Bishop of their Church.”³ But it seems needless to cite more,

the value of the admission. *App. Notarum Criticarum*, p. 138. The history of St. Polycarp would suffice to demonstrate the divine origin of Episcopacy, if every other ecclesiastical record were withdrawn from us.

¹ Πολύκαρπος οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐωράκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ, ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινε, καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος, ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου. S. Iren. iii. 3.

² Οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεγμένοι τὸν Πολυκάρπου θρόνον. Ibid.

³ *De Præscript. Hæret.* cap. xxxii.

when even the very Jews and heathen will witness for us. So well was the “Angel of the Church in Smyrna” known in his own day, that it was the shout of the savage crowd, as Christ’s venerable martyr stood before the Roman tribunal, “Polycarp to the lions! This is the Master of Asia, the Father of the Christians.”¹ They were right in giving him this title; for St. Jerome says, “he was the Head of all Asia;”² *his own flock*, whose account of his death it has pleased God to preserve to our times, call him “Bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna;”³ Polycrates, who was thirty-eight years old at the time of his death, and could not be mistaken either, styles him, “Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, and Martyr;”⁴ and lastly, the Saint himself commences a letter, the only relic of his writings which has survived to our age, “Polycarp, and the presbyters who are with him, to the Church of God which is at Philippi.”⁵ Thus has

¹ Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. Vide Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15.

² “Polycarpus, Joannis Apostoli discipulus, et ab eo Smyrnæ Episcopus ordinatus, totius Asiæ princeps fuit.” S. Hieron. *Catal. Script. Eccles.*: upon which vide Natalis Alexandri *Dissert. Ecc.* i. p. 64. (Paris. 1679.) Pliny calls Smyrna “primum Asiæ lumen;” and in the Arundel Marbles the Smyrnæans are styled *πρῶτοι τῆς Ἀσίας*. This may explain the phrase, “caput totius Asiæ.” Vide Is. Vossii *Epist.* ii. *Contra Blondellum*.

³ Διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Vide Euseb. *H. E.* ubi supra.

⁴ Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς. S. Polycratis *Epist. ad Victor*.

⁵ Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικίᾳ Φιλίππους. *Epist. ad Philipp.*

it seemed good to God—praised be His Name!—to provide for us all kinds of witnesses; from the Bishops whose high office only marked them out as the first victims, to the fierce rabble who shouted round their graves. How long shall they bear witness in vain?¹

It seems unnecessary to pursue our inquiry beyond the two instances already considered, or to shew that the other Asian Churches, no less than Smyrna and Ephesus, were ruled from the first by individuals.² Enough has been said; for of course one case—such as that of Polycarp—proves all the rest. But an important reflection remains to be offered upon what has been already advanced.

The adversaries *admit* that the Churches were governed by Bishops within a very few years—the most extravagant say, within forty years³—of

¹ It would be natural to infer, the evidence being so varied and abundant, that to reject Episcopacy is a characteristic of unbelief; and we might expect beforehand, that in the case of those who do reject it, there would be a tendency to positive infidelity. It will appear in the progress of these pages that the expectation is a just one; that the rejection has begun in schism, and ended in apostacy; that the Bishop has first been mocked, and then Christ who appointed him; and that not only in the case of individuals, but of whole communities.

² With respect to whom similar admissions have been made to those already cited. “Fuit Antipas,” says the learned Francis Junius, “Angelus sive Minister Christi in Ecclesia Pergamensium, ut scribunt Andreas, Aretas, et alii.” *Not. in Apocal. cap. ii.*

³ From a great mass of such admissions I select the following:—

“Inæqualitatem esse vetustissimam, ac vicinam Apostolorum tem-

St. John's death. At *that* time, it is confessed, the Three Orders of the Priesthood were universally acknowledged. They might, indeed, with just as much reason, have fixed upon any other imaginary epoch; but we may be content here to take the admission as they make it. In the year 140, then, the Bishops throughout the world were in undisputed possession of their authority over presbyters and deacons.

Now at this time, and many years after, St.

poribus, ultro nos fateamur." Chamier, *Panstrat. Cathol.* lib. x. cap. vi. tom. ii. p. 353.

"Brevi post discessum Apostolorum, *aut forte sub eorum extrema, contigit,*" &c. Jablonski *Institut. Hist. Christian.* secul. i. cap. ii. § 8.

"Statim post tempora Apostolorum, *aut etiam eorum tempore.*" Pet. Molinæi *Epist.* iii., ap. Andrewes, *Opuscul.* p. 179.

"Equidem *mox post Apostolorum discessum Præsides* etiam in Ecclesiis Christianorum apparuerunt." J. H. Bœhmer, *Dissert.* vii. § 6. *De consessu ordinis ecclesiastici*, p. 398.

"Episcopi solius erat ordinare, quod Presbyteris negabatur. Hoc ipsum tamen non ex dispositione Dominica, *sed Apostolica*, et consuetudine ita fuit in Ecclesiam introductum." Pfaffii *Hist. Ecc.* secul. ii. § 7.

"Etenim discrimen illud valde mature *ipsorum Apostolorum temporibus* in Ecclesiam irrepsit." Vedelii *Exercitat.* 3. in *S. Ignatii ad Philadelph.* cap. xiv. p. 138. (Genevæ, 1623.)

"Nam ut apud Patres Hieronymo vetustiores clara habemus testimonia, in præcipuis Ecclesiis omnibus a temporibus Apostolorum ita observatum est, ut Presbyteris omnibus quidem officium Episcopale fuerit impositum; interim tamen semper, *etiam Apostolorum temporibus*, unus a Presbyteris electus atque ordinatus est in officii hujus ducem et quasi antistitem; qui cæteris omnibus præivit, et curam animarum ministeriumque Episcopale præcipue et summo in gradu gessit atque administravit." M. Bucer, *De Anim. Cura*, p. 280.

"Nullum illustrius momentum occurrit in quod insignis illa mutatio commode conferri posse videatur *quam ann. Christi 135.*" Blondel, *Apolog. pro sententia Hieron.* Præfat.

"Interim Episcopale regimen esse antiquissimum, et paulo post

Polycarp was still alive. In the year 158 we find him at Rome,¹ in friendly communications with its Bishop Anicetus, ministering at the same altar, and joining with him in the most solemn act of our religion,—the administration of the Holy Eucharist.² But this Anicetus was, confessedly, *such* a Bishop as our Fathers of the present day, ruling presbyters and deacons with a power which he claimed to exercise, and was admitted to possess, as a lawful successor of the Apostles. *What, then,*

Apostolos per universam Ecclesiam magno cum fructu obtinuisse, est mihi compertissimum." Sam. Bochart, *Epist. ad Morleium*, p. 7. (Paris. 1650.)

Lastly, even Gibbon—ever anxious, like the rest of his class, to depress "Prelacy" as low as possible—does not venture to say more than that "the Episcopal form of government appears to have been introduced *before the end of the first century.*" *Decline and Fall*, chap. xv. vol. i. p. 489.

Such are a few of the concessions hardly and most reluctantly extorted, with the exception of the last instance, from some of the leading Presbyterian divines; of whom five acknowledge the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters to have been established in the very lifetime of the Apostles, and the other four assert that it took place "immediately after their deaths!" Truly there is little cause for apprehension as to the issue of such a controversy as this—*arma dabunt ipsi*; we need no other advocates of our cause than the adversaries themselves; and to their writings we may refer for its sufficient defence.

¹ Baronius, *Annal.* ann. 157, places this visit a year earlier, and so the venerable author of the *Annot. in Concil. Lugdun.* ap. *Rel. Sac.* tom. i. p. 414. Pagi, however, with Valesius, follows the Chronicon Alexandrinum in fixing upon 158; *Crit. Histor. Chronolog.* in Baron. tom. i. p. 160: and the Centuriators of Magdeburg do the same; *Hist. Ecclesiast.* cent. ii. cap. x. p. 175.

² Vide Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24. The right conceded by Anicetus to St. Polycarp was, according to the Martyrologist, "in publico omnium fidelium conventu suo loco pontificalia munia obeundi." Ruinart, *Act. Martyr. sincer. et select.* p. 29.

was Polycarp? He too is called, by those who lived with him, a “Bishop;” his own flock, as has been noticed, style him “Bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna;” St. Irenæus, who *saw* and *heard* him, says, “He was appointed by the Apostles over Asia, as *Bishop* of the Church which is in Smyrna.” I ask then, Was he *such* a Bishop as Anicetus and his brethren, who at that time occupied the episcopal chairs throughout Christendom? If he was, then the Apostles, who are not denied to have ordained him, appointed such Bishops, and our argument is ended. If he was not, in what respect did he differ from them? If the “Angel of the Church in Smyrna” was indeed a “*Prelate*,” then our venerable Hooker said truly of the Order of Bishops, “It is of God, the Holy Ghost was the Author of it:” if, as some in this latter end of the world have been taught to say, he was a mere presbyter, then I ask again, How came that man of God to endure in others the shameless usurpation of authority which God gave them not? How could he, the friend and companion of Apostles, kneel at the same altar with one who had dared—according to our modern sectaries—“to erect a throne where Christ had made all level;” to snatch from his brother presbyters the powers which God had bidden them to use, and not only impiously to subvert the Government which his Master had ordained, but with incredible boldness to set up a scheme of his own, and call it by his Master’s Name? Either

Anicetus was an usurper and a tyrant, and Polycarp—though he “took sweet counsel” with him—knew it; or else Polycarp was himself a Bishop.¹

One objection has been urged against all this, with a brief notice of which we may conclude this section. The more sagacious amongst the adversaries have not ventured to deny the individual pre-eminence of the respective “Angels” addressed in the Revelation of St. John; they seem to have judged that the evidence could not be resisted.²

¹ And this reasoning may of course be applied in almost innumerable cases. I will add only one. St. Symeon, the brother and successor of St. James, lived to a great age, dying early in the second century. It is beyond controversy that he was, in some sense, Bishop of Jerusalem. Was his office, then, in any respect different to that which had been held by his brother, the Apostle, who was also called by the same title of Bishop? If so, in what did the difference of their functions consist, and who was the author of the change? Was it St. Symeon himself? This is evidently impossible, when we consider who and what that blessed person was. Was it effected afterwards by his own immediate successor? or the next again to him? or the next? If any change was made, *who* made it? Which, in short, of all the Bishops of Jerusalem, first assumed to be a Bishop in such a sense as his predecessors, including St. James, had not been? It is evident that you cannot fix upon the criminal, nor separate one from the other—they were *all* impostors, or none; you cannot shew any distinction between them. If, therefore, men will condemn Bishops as usurpers, let them be bold, and rebuke St. James, and all the Apostles, who first held their office.

² “In the Church of Ephesus,” says Reynolds, “though it had sundry Elders and Pastors to guide it, yet amongst these sundry was there *one chief*, whom our Saviour calleth *the Angel of the Church*, and writeth that to him which by him the rest should know. *And this is he whom afterward in the Primitive Church the Fathers called Bishop.*” *Conference with Hart*, § 3. “Ce furent ces Présidens, qui retinrent dans la suite le titre d’Evêque, à l’exclusion des Prêtres.” Beausobre et Lenfant, *Préface sur la 1^{re} Epître à Timothée*, tome

But this forced concession they have attempted to qualify, after a mode which has been fitly described as “more worthy of pity than confutation.” And indeed it seems to be commonly true of them all, that no reasoning will appear, to an honest and reverential mind, more fatal to their cause than their own plea in its defence: but of this hereafter. Let their usual arguments be judged of by that which they allege in this case, and let it be noticed in the words of Bishop Hall.

“So clear,” says he, “is this truth”—the authority and responsibility of the “Angels”—“that the opposites have been forced to yield the priority here intimated; but a priority of order only, not of power; a priority of presidency *for the time*, not personal. Beza yields him τὸν προεστῶτα, as he acknowledges Justin Martyr—A.D. 139—to call him ‘*President of the Presbytery*,’ but hints that

ii. p. 362. Cf. *Thes. Salmur.* pars ii. p. 327; where the “Angel” is confessed to have been “Primus ordine, honore, et dignitate.” And indeed, the pre-eminence here asserted has been admitted by all the distinguished writers of this party; and that Calvin himself always insisted upon the necessity of a presiding ruler in every Church, needs not to be proved, because, as is well known, he did not confine his theory to verbal statements only, though these were sufficiently animated. “I should be sorry,” says an anonymous writer, at a critical period of English history, “to see any Bishop in this land have such authority over other Ministers as he had at Geneva, or John Knox in Scotland.” Vide *A modest Advertisement on the Government of the Church* (1641). “Episcoporum Simiæ,” is the expressive title applied to these men by Turrian; and a very little acquaintance with their history will shew how convenient, and even necessary, it was for them to admit that the “Angels” were individual Rulers of superior power and authority.

his office was perhaps not perpetual!¹ Wherein I bless myself, to see how prejudice can blind the eyes of the wise and learned; for what author, in the whole world, ever mentioned such a fashion of ambulatory government in the Church?² And do

¹ *In Phil.* i. Elsewhere he says, “Τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, id est, προεστῶτι, quem nimirum oportuit inprimis de his rebus admoneri, ac *per eum* cæteras Collegas, totamque adeo Ecclesiam.” *In Apoc.* ii. “Cum precandi et docendi officium in Ecclesia,” says another, “præcipue incubuerit τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Primo Presbyterorum, quem ætas recentior *Episcopum* vocavit, facile patior *Præsides Presbyterorum* Ecclesiæ Christianæ hic potissimum a Domino notari; quæ eadem quoque Bezæ fuit sententia.” Vitringa, *In Apoc.* p. 34. It is really painful to see such a man as Vitringa constrained, by the necessity of a false position, to such half-confessions as these. It would have been fatal to admit at once the whole truth, that these “Angels” were Bishops,—so they must be styled “Prime-Presbyters!” Bishop Downname, quoting the above opinion of Beza, adds, “And as he professeth the presidentship in every Church to be *a divine ordinance and immutable*, so he acknowledgeth those Bishops alone for divine who had this presidentship but for a short time, and by course!” *Defence of Sermon*, book i. ch. ii. We may leave this extravagance to be rebuked by his own friends:—“*Episcopatus vocem sumpsi*,” says Grotius, “eo significatu ut *προστασίαν* indicet *non temporariam sed perpetuam*.” *Vir. Erudit. Epist.* Ep. ccxciii. p. 487. (ed. Limborch.) “*Primatus ille non fuit vel annuus vel menstruus aut hebdomadarius, ac per vices*,” says another of them, “*ut modo hic, modo ille primus esset, sed perpetuus*, sive, ut loquuntur, *ad vitam*.” *Thes. Salmur.* pars ii. p. 322. So the “reformed” doctors of Leyden: “*Episcopatus nihil aliud est quam perpetuata aut perpetua præsidentia*.” *Censur. in Remonstrantes Synodo de Dort*, p. 277. (Lugdun. Batav. 1626.) So Beausobre, *ubi supra*: “On ne voit pas dans S. Paul que ce chef (du Presbytère) fût pris tour à tour de tous les Pasteurs . . . et les tems qui succèdent immédiatement à ceux des Apôtres ne permettent pas de le croire”—as he then proceeds to prove at length.

² Archbishop Bramhall challenges the new teachers “to name but one Church, or so much as one poor Village, throughout the whole world, from the days of the Apostles till the year of Christ 1500, that ever was governed without a Bishop (I except the Ace-

not our histories testify, that Polycarpus, the Angel of Smyrna, died Bishop there? — that Onesimus, by Ignatius's testimony, so continued Bishop of Ephesus? James at Jerusalem? And if those errors, taxed by the Holy Ghost, were but for the time of a shifting Presidency, why should any one of the momentary guides of the Church be charged so home with all the abuses of their jurisdiction? How easy had it been for him to shift the fault, as he did the chair! for how could it concern him more than the next man? Surely this conceit is more worthy of pity than confutation."¹ And yet it is a fair specimen of the reasonings with which some men in these last days would defend the revival of a "branded heresy." Without a solitary instance in the history of the universal Church, without one clear witness amongst the successive generations of her children, without an example throughout all time, save only of one unhappy and self-condemned heretic,—they fear not to supply the lack of all, and to cover their own disobedience with a profane guess! Which "how palpable an

phali, or such disordered persons as had no government at all); or to name but one Lay-Elder, or one ambulatory Bishop that governed by turn or course in the primitive times, in the whole Catholic Church, before the year 1536, when Calvin came to Geneva. We find the proper and particular names of Apostles, Evangelists, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, in the Scriptures, in Councils, in Ecclesiastical Histories, in the Fathers; if he and all his friends be not able out of all these authorities to name *one* particular Lay-Elder or ambulatory Bishop, the reason must be, because there never was such a creature *in rerum natura*." *The Serpent Salve*, Works, vol. ii. p. 595.

¹ *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, part ii. § 7. p. 201.

untruth it is, is no hard matter," as Bishop Bilson has observed, "for meane scholars to discerne. The first Bishop of Alexandria after Mark the Apostle was Anianus, made the eighth yeere of Nero's reigne; and he continued *two and twentie yeeres* before Abilius succeeded him. Abilius sate *thirteene yeeres*, and dying left the place to Cerdo. These three succeeded one another, St. John yet living; neither had Alexandria any moe than *two Bishops in thirty-five yeeres* after the death of Mark.

"Evodius, made Bishop of Antioch five and twentie yeeres before the death of Peter and Paul, survived them one yeere; and after him succeeded Ignatius, who outlived St. John, and died in the eleventh yeere of Trajan, leaving the place to Heron, after he had kept it *fourtie yeeres*; so that *in sixty-six yeeres* the Church of Antioch had but *two Bishops*.

"At Rome, whiles St. John lived, there were but *three Bishops*, Linus, Anacletus, and Clemens, which thus continued *two and thirtie yeeres*."¹ And these, as the learned Prelate goes on to prove, are but a few out of innumerable instances; so that he might well say of the adversary's assertion, "I

¹ *Epistle to the Reader*. He says elsewhere of Beza's strange invention—"If you talke of 'going round by course,' it is the order of good fellows at a feast; it was never the order of governing in the Church of Christ." Ch. xiii. p. 288. And another shrewdly remarks, "If we think of an ambulatory Government, at the next turn we must expect an ambulatory Creed;"—and Geneva, as we shall see hereafter, has proved the truth of the saying. Shaw, *No Reformation of the Established Reformation*, Preface.

knowe not whether I should thinke it proceeded of too much ignorance, or too little conscience.”¹ However, it is an assertion which has been much relied on, and it seemed right to refer to it. We have seen how much it is worth, and can but wonder greatly, first, that any should be bold enough thus to sport with holy things, and then that others should be weak enough to be led by them; and not only to accept ashes for bread, man’s inventions for the Ordinance of Christ, but even in their deepest degradation to fancy themselves gainers withal.

The case, then, that we may bring it to an end, seems to be as follows. The Divine messages in the Revelation are addressed to certain Rulers of the Churches, under the title of “Angels.” These Angels are challenged by God as the responsible Governors of their respective Churches; strict account of the condition of those Churches is demanded at their hands; to have “*tried*” and convicted pseudo-apostles is made the praise of one Angel, to have “*suffered*” false Teachers the reproach of another; their Office *seems* to have been Apostolical, the Primitive Christians believed that it was so; their very title is used interchangeably with that of Apostle by St. John himself;² the friends of Apostles, as Ignatius, write *to* them—

¹ “Si ignoras, disce; si nosti, erubescere. Ignorantia tibi ascribi non potest; restat ergo ut noveris.” S. Optat. *Adv. Parmenian.* lib. ii. p. 48.

² Rev. xxi. 12.

their immediate successors, as Irenæus, write of them; at the very date of the Revelation we find single rulers in their chairs, and trace the succession of others in the same thrones; they hold their office for life—twenty, thirty, forty, fifty years—and are followed by others who do the same; the catalogues in each Church are preserved from the beginning; and whilst some boast that their first Bishop was the friend of St. John, others tell of his speech and mien, record his words and “the manner of his life;”¹—lastly, in accordance with this combined testimony, the holy Fathers believed and taught that these Angels were Bishops in the Church of Christ, and for fifteen ages no man had any other thought of them.²

¹ Vide S. Irenæi *Epist. ad Florinum*.

² St. Austin, in refuting the notion that they were celestial Angels, which he does by pointing out that these had not “left their first love,” adds, “Divina voce laudatur sub Angeli nomine *præpositus ecclesiæ*,” &c. *Contra Donatist. Pertinac.* Epist. clxii. tom. ii. p. 281: and his friend Paulinus, in addressing him as follows, seems to be alluding to the same truth; “O *Lucerna* digne supra *Candelabrum* Ecclesiæ posita, quæ late Catholicis urbibus de septiformi lychno pastum oleo lætitiæ lumen effundens,” &c. Paulinus *Augustino*, Epist. xxxi. He uses the same image again to Alypius, Epist. xxxv., and *septiformis* is also repeated. Cf. *Contra Ep. Parmen.* lib. ii. cap. x. tom. vii. p. 10.

St. Epiphanius, speaking of the heresy of the Nicolaitanes, observes, that its condemnation may be read in the Revelation of St. John, ὅς γράφων μιᾷ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκ προσώπου Κυρίου, τουτέστι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ ἐκείνῳ κατασταθέντι . . . φησίν, κ.τ.λ. *Hæres.* xxv. § 3. which is a very express testimony to the mind of the Church in his day. Cf. *Timothei Presbyt. Constantinop. Orat. i. in Nicolaitas*, ap. J. Meursii *Var. Div. Lib.* tom. viii. p. 742.

St. Isidore says, “*Sacerdos Domini Omnipotentis Angelus est.*” Citat. a Corderio, *Annot. in S. Dionys.* p. 137.

St. Hilary confirms it in a singular manner: he is warning the

And yet all this, and much more besides, is to go for nothing; and we are now to think that the Scriptures have been misunderstood from the beginning, and they who were most likely to know

Church against an heretical Bishop, and he says, “Absistite itaque ab Auxentio, *Satanæ Angelo*, hoste Christi,” &c. S. Hilar. Pictav. *Adv. Arian.* p. 351; with which compare S. Basil. *Epist.* cxc. *Nicopolitanis Presbyteris*, tom. iii. p. 207.

St. Dionysius, or whoever wrote in his name, gives similar testimony. Δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν, says he, ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἱεράρχης ἄγγελος Κυρίου παντοκράτορος ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων ὠνόμασται. S. Dionys. Areop. *De Cœlest. Hierarch.* cap. xii. p. 135; where that the Bishop is called “Angel” is assumed as unquestionable,—he only supposes an inquiry into the suitableness of the title.

St. Ambrose too, in his comment upon 1 Cor. xi. 10,—where women are admonished to be “covered” in Church, “because of the angels”—observes, “He calls *the Bishops* Angels, as we see in the Revelation of St. John.” “Potestatem velamen significavit; Angelos Episcopos dicit, sicut docetur in Apocalypsi Joannis.” Pseudo-Ambros. tom. ii. p. 147.

St. Jerome on the same place gives the same teaching. “Item hoc loco *Angelos Ecclesiis præidentes dicit*, sicut ut Malachias propheta testatur *sacerdotem angelum esse*, dicens,” &c. S. Hieron. *In 1 Cor.* xi., Opp. tom. viii. p. 215. The same reference to the prophet is made by St. Gregory the Great, *Exposit. Moral.* lib. v. cap. xxviii. “Propter Angelos, *id est*, Sacerdotes.” *Gemma Animæ, De Antiquo Ritu Missæ*, cap. cxlvi.

But perhaps the most interesting and conclusive evidence, inasmuch as it also involves the admissions of certain ancient heretics, on this subject, is that of St. Optatus. This Father tells the Donatists, that they can pretend to no communion with the successors of St. Peter, and if they could, *they had none with the Asian Angels*: “Excludat septem Angelos,” he says, “qui *sunt* apud socios nostros in Asia, ad quorum Ecclesias scribit Apostolus Joannes. Cum quibus Ecclesiis nullum communionis probamini habere consortium. Unde vobis Angelum, qui apud vos possit fontem movere, aut inter cæteras dotes Ecclesiæ numerari? Extra septem Ecclesias quicquid foris est, alienum est. Aut si inde habetis aliquem unum, per unum communicatis *et cæteris Angelis*, et *per Angelos* memoratis Ecclesiis, et per ipsas Ecclesias nobis.” *Adv. Parmen.* lib. ii. p. 50; and again, “*Joannis socii* esse noluistis.” p. 56.

God's will were most deceived about it; that men who lived with the Apostles did not know their minds, and that the Apostles took no pains to correct them; that the "Spirit of Truth" abandoned the whole Church to error, though sent to "guide her into all truth;" and "*a jealous God*" suffered His own Institution to be destroyed by the very men who supposed that they were dying in its defence. And to all this, evil as it is, we are bid to hearken as to the words of sober truth, because in the sixteenth age of the Gospel there was found a man who had courage enough to cast away God's Discipline, and to set up his own, which lasted about two hundred years, and then passed into apostacy.¹

V. It is not my intention to offer here any further evidence from Holy Scripture.² Enough, I

¹ Of the present condition of Calvin's ecclesiastical republic some account is given in Chap. V. So disastrous has been the working of his invention, that a Genevan preacher, living in the very house and chamber of that distinguished "reformer," confessed to an English Clergyman in the year 1836, "*The whole edifice of Calvin's Church is now fallen into utter ruin, both in doctrine and discipline, and can never be repaired.*" "Illustrations of the Latitudinarian development of the original Calvinistic community at Geneva," from the Journal of the Rev. W. Palmer, p. 49.

² Though it may be truly said, that if all the Scripture evidence here adduced should be omitted, there would still remain enough to prove our case. There is, indeed, a vast store of such evidence, and that both practical and mystical, to which no reference has been made. To the former class belong all such prophetic sayings as are commented upon by St. Clement, *Ad Cor.* § 42; by St. Austin, *In Psal.* xliv., *Enarrat.* tom. viii. p. 169; by St. Jerome on the

think, has been produced to satisfy all who are in a condition to receive it; all, that is, who are not disabled, by moral or religious disqualifications, from apprehending it. With respect to such persons, it must be considered, that no testimony can amount to what is called *proof*, otherwise than relatively. And since Divine Truths are for the most part proposed to us—whether from some se-

same Scripture, Opp. tom. vii. p. 57; or again by Origen, *In Cantic.* i. 17, ap. Hieron. *In Cantic. Canticor.* Homil. iii. tom. viii. p. 152. To the latter may be referred those more profound and awful expositions, which are too solemn for controversy—*cogitanda potius quam dicenda*—such as the following: Ταύτης ἀρχὴ τῆς ἱεραρχίας, says the Areopagite, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς, ἡ οὐσία τῆς ἀγαθότητος, ἡ μία τῶν ὄντων αἰρία Τρίas. *De Ecclesiast. Hierarch.* cap. i. p. 199. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* lib. vi. p. 667; and Tertull. *De Oratione*, p. 149. The mystical expositions of holy men in relation to the Church—men who saw in every thing, with Heaven-taught piety, types or emblems of the Most Blessed Trinity—“Trinitatem quandam in omni re,” as Austin speaks—are, as all must admit, too high and sacred to be exposed to the handling of uncatholic tempers. That they regarded the threefold order of the Ministry as a type of the Holy Trinity is to the faithful a solemn thought, but how dreadful to the adversary! upon whom, indeed, there were little wisdom in urging it;—“Sed compellimur,” as St. Hilary complains, “compellimur ab hæreticorum ac blasphemantium vitiis, illicita agere, ardua scandere, ineffabilia eloqui, inconcessa præsumere.” *De Trinitate*, lib. ii.—The following passages, as characteristic of the Scripture expositions both of the primitive and mediæval ages, may be suitably added. “Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo lætitiæ præ consortibus tuis,” is applied by one to the anointing of Bishops at their consecration. B. Ivonis Carnotensis, *De Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, ap. Hittorp. tom. i. p. 782. “Baptismum ignis,” says another, speaking of a deep saying of Holy Scripture, “accipimus per impositionem manus Episcoporum.” Amalarii *De Ecc. Offic.* lib. i. cap. xxvii. “Per ignem debemus intelligere Spiritum Sanctum quem die Pentecostes super Apostolos misit, et quotidie per Baptismum et per impositionem manuum Episcoporum mittit.” Remigii Altissiodor. *In Joel.* cap. ii. And these may suffice as examples of this mode of reference to Holy Scripture upon the subject under consideration.

cret necessity, or for the purposes of moral discipline—with only a certain degree of evidence, and no more; then to such as require, in the case of this or that truth, a further amount of testimony than God has chosen to vouchsafe, such particular truth is incapable of proof, and must continue so in spite of all which can be said in its behalf.¹ The many clear passages which have been accumulated above, agreeing as they do both with the declarations of prophecy and the facts of history, both with the *promises* of God and their actual *fulfilment* in the Church, will, it is presumed, be accepted by most persons as effectual proof; whilst by some others they would be rejected, even if they were much plainer and more numerous than they are.² It is enough, therefore, for the present purpose, to have collected these.

But in bringing this Chapter to an end, it may be well to notice the argument from Scripture—for they have, strictly speaking, but one argument—which the adversaries are accustomed to oppose to these portions of Holy Writ, and to that uniform interpretation of them which has been commended to us by the consent of all past ages. It will be found to be exactly such as others, reasoning upon the same principles, venture to urge against Articles of Faith, as the doctrine of the

¹ Vide Bishop Butler's *Charge*, A.D. 1751, Works, p. 241.

² "I endeavour to shew the unreasonableness of Atheism upon this account, *because it requires more evidence for things than they are capable of.*" Tillotson, *Rule of Faith*, Preface.

Most Holy Trinity, or the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The argument is usually stated in some such terms as the following: "St. Paul, in his Epistles, recognises but two Orders of the Ministry, Bishops and Deacons. Those whom in one passage he calls Elders or Presbyters, are denominated in another Bishops. These are, according to his use, and that of the New Testament generally, convertible terms; they plainly indicate the same Office. They were not distinguished by the Apostles, and therefore cannot be distinguished by us; only two Orders of Ministers were enumerated then, and there cannot be three now." This, I believe, is the sum of the argument.¹

Now it is observable, at first sight, how exactly this reasoning coincides with that of the Arian or Socinian. "The Bible declares, again and again, that there is only one God; *therefore* there cannot be a Trinity. It no where speaks of God the Holy Ghost; therefore He is not a Person in the Godhead. Christ says, 'My Father is greater than I;' therefore Christ did not assume to be equal with God." This philosophy of the Socinian is so closely allied to that of the Lutheran or Calvinist, that it explains the awful fact of their rapid amalgamation into one body, and accounts for the transition which is now going on, all over the world, from the one class to the other—from the despisers of

¹ See it stated at length by Hooker, *E. P.* b. vii. ch. xi.

Primitive Discipline to the corrupters of Catholic Doctrine. But without noticing further in this place a connexion which it is proposed to trace in a future chapter, the objection itself shall be considered under some of the different forms in which it has been proposed.

(1.) And first, it must be said, not by way of argument, but in all simplicity, that if it were ever so true, it would not impair, nay, it would not touch, the cause which it is brought to discredit. For suppose it were so, that the Apostles make mention of only two Orders of Clergy, presbyters and deacons, as ordained by their authority—what were they, the Ordainers, themselves? Did they not constitute a *third* Order? And has not the Church always taught that the Rulers now specially styled Bishops succeed *them*? They, and others appointed by them for that purpose, ordained, admonished, and censured the Presbyters and Deacons in the several Churches of their charge; and it was to the authority of *these single Rulers* that Timothy and Titus, Clement and Epaphroditus, Ignatius and Polycarp, and the rest in turn down to our own day, succeeded. With what object, then, does the adversary assert that the Apostles speak of only *two* Orders of the Priesthood as subject to their rule? He must shew, if he would prove his case, *that the Apostles were of the same Order with the clergy whom they ordained and governed.*

(2.) But then it is said : “ However this may be, we find no such definition in the Bible of the Episcopal Office and Order as is here implied. Where do we see even the *name* Bishop to be used in its present signification ?—where, for instance, is St. James *called* Bishop of Jerusalem ?”

The impotence of this second objection may be estimated by the fact, that it has been scornfully rejected by the very teachers who urge it, when used by others against themselves.¹ An illustration of its true character may readily be found. Thus : we are told that “ the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch,” and that probably more than ten years after our Lord’s Resurrection. Were they not Christians, then, before the *name* was assumed ? If they were, then why are St. James and the rest to be denied their Episcopal character because the *title* was not yet applied ? If those Rulers were not Bishops *because* they were not called so, then the first disciples were not Christians, for they were not called so either. Every one sees how absurd this way of reasoning is in the latter case : why

¹ “ Ista vero *putida objectio*, voces illas in Scripturis non inveniri, quoties objecta, audita, repulsa, damnata est omnium bonorum et doctorum judicio.” Theod. Bezae *Epist.* lxxxi. Bishop Pearson says (*On the Creed*, Art. ix. *Notes*, vol. ii. p. 460) : “ It was the ordinary objection of the schismatical Novatians, that the very *name* of Catholics was never used by the Apostles ; and the answer to it by the Catholics was by way of concession, ‘ Sed sub Apostolis, inquires, nemo Catholicus vocabatur. Esto, sic fuerit ; vel illud indulge,’ ” &c. Pacian. *Ad Sympronian.* Ep. i.

should it be thought wise and prudent in the former?

(3.) Again: "How was the Office of Bishop distinct," it is asked, "from that of Presbyter, when the same individuals are called, by the same Apostle, both Bishops and Presbyters?" This is another form of the objection; specious, indeed, in sound, but, as Hooker has said, "a lame and impotent kind of reasoning"¹ with which to convict all past ages of error. For let it be granted that the *title* of Bishop is not confined in the New Testament to that Order to which it was afterwards restrained,²—what then? Our question is about *things*, not *names*; we are looking for an Order of spiritual Governors higher than Presbyters, and possessing authority over them; and will any man deny that such an Order is to be seen in the New Testament? How idle is it, then, to contend for a phrase,³ and how perilous an argument

¹ *E. P.* book vii. vol. iii. p. 179. Cf. Whitgift, *Def. of A. to A.* p. 534.

² Which, however, they cannot prove. Hammond says, "The word Bishop in the Scripture is never used for a Presbyter in our modern notion of the word, but constantly for the one single Governor in a Church or city." *Vindication of his Dissertations*, § 7. p. 40. "Where you find a Bishop and Presbyter in Scripture to be one and the same—which I deny to be always so—it is in the Apostles' times. Now I think to prove the order of Bishops *succeeded* that of the Apostles, and that the *name* was chiefly altered in reverence to those that were immediately chosen by our Saviour." King Charles' *Answer to Henderson*, quoted by Stillingfleet, *Unreasonableness of Separation*, part iii. § 13, p. 271. Cf. Jackson, *Dissertation on Episcopacy*, p. 39.

³ "Si enim *de verbis* inter nos controversia est, facile contemne-

in their lips who may be called upon to defend the fabulous vocabulary of the conventicle.¹ What rashness is this, to reject an Office recognised in the Word of God, and ever maintained in the Church, because—supposing it to be so—men have since denoted it by a particular title. As if to speak of Baptism as a “*Sacrament*” were to annul its efficacy, because that word is not applied to it in Scripture; or when Adam “*gave names*” to the creatures around him, he must have changed the constitution which they had from God. But let us examine more closely an argument, upon the success of which the whole fabric of the modern discipline depends.²

tur, dummodo *rem ipsam* quam concepisti mente videamus.” Aug. *De Ordine*, lib. ii. cap. ii. “Nihil obstant verba, cum sententia congruat veritati.” Lactantius, *De Vera Sapientia*, lib. iv. p. 332.

¹ “These imperative men mightily forget their own principles; for they create new Senators, Vestry Elders, without any commandment of the word; they command whatsoever their own heads affect, without any commandment of the word; to wit,” &c. Bishop White, Letter to Archbishop Laud, prefixed to his *Treatise on the Sabbath*. Πάλιν σὺ πόθεν ἔχεις τὰς σὰς ἀκροπόλεις; asks Nazianzen; and he warns the adversary that he must fall by his own principles of reasoning. *Orat.* xxxvii. tom. i. p. 606. But this is the fate of all sectaries; like Saul, they fall upon their own sword. “Jam ne vides, frater Parmeniane, jam ne sentis, jam ne intelligis, *te argumentis tuis contra te militasse?*” S. Optat. *Adv. Parmen.* lib. ii. p. 51.

² “This is Salmasius his standing juggle, to make every passage in which either of these two words bishop or presbyter occurs a demonstration of the identity of Office; . . . if we bar him and his fellows but this one childish sophism, they must in this controversy be dumb for ever. It is the whole force of all that they have written upon it; all their books are nothing more than this one thing repeated so many thousand times over.” Archdeacon Parker’s *Government of the Church*, p. 24.

There is no order above Presbyters, these new teachers say, "because some Presbyters are called Bishops." If this rule of interpretation be a sound one, it will bear a general application. Now, in the New Testament our Blessed Lord is called a *Deacon*, διάκονον περιτομῆς:¹ "Shall we argue, therefore, that Christ is no more than of the order of Deacon in the Church? Such and no better are the arguments from the etymology of the words, that Bishops are no more than Presbyters."²

Again: the Apostles are called in one place *Deacons of the New Testament*, διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης;³ elsewhere St. Peter and St. John call themselves *Presbyters*, or *Elders*.⁴ The same persons, then, in those days, were called both Presbyters and Deacons; therefore, by this rule, Presbyter and Deacon is the same thing; and, by the same method of induction, Bishop and Presbyter have been proved to be the same: therefore, Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon, are all equal to one another, and there is no distinction of ministers whatever. And it is to an objection which leads to such a result, that we are required to furnish

¹ Rom. xv. 8.

² Leslie, *Rehearsals*, no. 252.

³ 2 Cor. iii. 6.

⁴ 1 Pet. v. 1; 2 and 3 John. Bishop Andrewes has observed, that the Apostles are called Priests or Seniors, 1 Pet. v. 1; Deacons or Ministers, 1 Cor. iii. 5; Teachers or Doctors, 1 Tim. ii. 7; Bishops or Overseers, Acts i. 20; Prophets, Acts xiii. 1, and Rev. xxii. 9; Evangelists, 1 Cor. ix. 16; and, besides all these, Disciples. It is surely, then, mere trifling to reason as some do upon the Names used in the New Testament.

a serious reply.¹ Such a reply, however, shall now be offered.

Of course, if this confusion of terms strikes us as worthy of remark, it must have been noticed by those who lived before us. The old Fathers were apt to be very observant in such matters, and we shall find that this has not escaped them. The chief passage upon which the new expounders seem to rely is in the first chapter to the Philippians, where St. Paul salutes "the saints which are at Philippi, *with the Bishops and Deacons:*" here, they say,² is plain proof that the Apostle knew only of two Orders. This is the comment

¹ "They may as well prove," says Leslie, "that Christ was but a *deacon*, because He is so called Rom. xv. 8, *διάκονος*, which we rightly translate *minister*; and *bishop* signifies an *overseer*, and *presbyter* an *ancient man* or *elder man*; whence our term of *alderman*. And this is as good a foundation to prove that the Apostles were aldermen in the city-acceptation of the word, or that our aldermen are all bishops and apostles, as to prove that presbyters and bishops are all one, from the childish jingle of the words. It would be the same thing if we should undertake to confront all antiquity, and prove against all the histories, that the Emperors of Rome were no more than generals of armies, and that every Roman general was Emperor of Rome, because he could find the word *Imperator* sometimes applied to the general of an army. Or, as if a commonwealth-man should get up and say, that our former kings were no more than our dukes are now, because the style of *grace*, which is now given to dukes, was then given to kings. And suppose that any one were put under the penance of answering such ridiculous arguments, what method would he take, but to shew that the emperors of Rome, and former kings of England, had generals of armies and dukes *under* them, and exercised authority over them?" *On the Qualifications necessary to administer the Sacraments*, Works, vol. vii. pp. 105, 6. (ed. Oxon.)

² Vide J. Pomeran, e. g., *Annot. in Epist. ad Phil.*

of these last days : now let us hear what a more primitive age thought of the same passage.¹

St. John Chrysostom observes upon it as follows :—“ ‘ With the bishops and deacons.’ What does this signify ? — were there many bishops in one city ? By no means ; but he gives this name *to the presbyters* ; for at that period *they shared the same name*, and even the Bishop was called a deacon.”² And this commentary of the Saint is no “private interpretation,” but the catholic sentiment. “By *bishops* in this place we understand *presbyters*,” says St. Jerome ; “for *there could not be many bishops in one city*.”³ “The first pres-

¹ The interpretation of St. Ambrose, however, would supersede the supposed difficulty altogether. “St. Paul is speaking,” he says, “of certain bishops and deacons who were at that time in his company, and not of those at Philippi.” But it must be admitted that Bellarmine rejects this, as “nimis dura expositio ;” *De Clericis*, lib. i. cap. xiv. Still, even if we decline to receive this comment of the Saint, his words are very instructive, and afford a striking testimony to the mind of the Church in his day. “If,” says he, “the Apostle had been addressing the bishops and deacons of Philippi, he would have addressed them personally ; he would have written, not to two or three, *but to the bishop of the place, as he did to Timothy and Titus*,—loci ipsius Episcopo scribendum erat, non duobus vel tribus, sicut et ad Titum et Timotheum.” *In Phil.* i., Opp. tom. ii. p. 251.

² Σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις· τί τοῦτο ; μιᾶς πόλεως πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν ; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὕτως ἐκάλεσε· τότε γὰρ τέως ἐκοινωνοῦν τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ διάκονος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγετο. S. Chrysost. *Homil.* i. *in Phil.* i. tom. iv. pp. 5, 6 ; where he continues the subject with further illustrations of the promiscuous manner in which these different titles were applied to the three Orders.

³ “Hic episcopus presbyteros intelligimus ; non enim in una urbe plures episcopi esse potuissent ; sed etiam hoc in Apostolorum Actibus habetur.” S. Hieron. *In Epist. ad Phil.* cap. i. tom. viii. p. 258. “Nulla ars absque magistro discitur,” says the same Father elsewhere ; and then he notices how even the lower animals have com-

byters were called bishops," writes St. Ambrose, "before Churches were appointed in all places."¹ "He calls the presbyters bishops," says Œcumenius; "for up to that time *the names were common*."² "They were *not yet distinguished*,"³ says Theophylact. "He styles the presbyters bishops," Theodoret says; "for at that time they used either name."⁴ The same thing says the Greek scholiast;

monly their single leader; bees elect a kind of sovereign, and cranes follow one in a regular order; there is one emperor, and one judge in a province; Rome could not bear two rulers, but the one slew the other; Esau and Jacob fought in the womb of Rebecca; and so, he adds, "*Singuli ecclesiarum Episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi, et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis rectoribus nititur.*" *Ad Rusticum Monachum*, Epist. iv. How firmly this truth was held by the ancient Church is emphatically shewn in a remarkable passage of the ecclesiastical historian. Liberius, Bishop of Rome, had been banished, and his see unlawfully occupied by Felix. On the return of the former, it was proposed by the Emperor, that the two should rule the Roman Church conjointly. Whereupon, says the historian, the people, shocked at so strange a proposal, exclaimed with one voice, "ONE GOD, ONE CHRIST, ONE BISHOP"—Εἷς Θεὸς, εἷς Χριστὸς, εἷς ἐπίσκοπος. Theodorit. *Ecclesiast. Histor.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 96. And Sozomen, speaking of the early death of this Felix, does not hesitate to ascribe it to the special Providence of God, who thus interfered to save the chair of St. Peter from the dishonour of being occupied by two Bishops at once. *H. E.* lib. iv. cap. xv. p. 558.

¹ *In Ephes.* iv. tom. ii. p. 241.

² Ἐπισκόπους τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καλεῖ, τότε γὰρ ἔτι ἐκοινώνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι. Œcumen. *In Phil.* i. tom. ii. p. 65.

³ Οὐπω γὰρ ἦσαν διακεκριμένα τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι διάκονοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐκαλοῦντο. Theophylact. *In loc.* p. 577. "Sub Episcoporum nomine presbyteros amplexus est." Raban. Maur. *De Institut. Clericor.* cap. vi. "In principio, licet ordines fuerint distincti, non tamen *nomina* ordinum; unde hic comprehendit presbyteros cum episcopis." S. Thomas Aquinas, *In Phil.* i.

⁴ *In loc.* tom. iii. p. 323. Cf. Pseudo-Alcuin. *Lib. de Divin. Offic.*, in cap. *de Tonsura Clericorum*; et Georg. Pachym. in S. Dionys. *De Cælest. Hierarch.* cap. i. Paraphr.

and so, in a word, all the holy witnesses who were best able to speak in such a matter. But perhaps they were all leagued to suppress the truth? It were a thought more injurious to the Master whom they served than to themselves; but if it were so, there is yet another testimony, which shall be cited in the last place. There is actually a Version of the Sacred Scriptures, and not the least valuable or authentic of the copies which the Divine bounty has preserved to us, in which the whole matter seems to be cleared up. In the Syriac translation of the Holy Records, as the most learned Bishop Beveridge has noticed, the words *σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις*, here in dispute, are actually rendered “with the *presbyters* and deacons;” and “*in almost all places of the New Testament where the word ἐπίσκοπος, or bishop, occurs, it is translated by presbyter in the Syriac Version.*”¹

It would be natural to exult in the fulness of our proofs, but that to triumph in such a victory, or against such an adversary, would be unseemly. Rather let us, with humble thankfulness, rejoice in our own inheritance, and using wisely the privileges which belong to us as children of the Holy Catholic Church, seek with all gentleness and charity to win others to our own blessed lot. So shall we best use the injunction of the Apostle, and “*save others*”—even against their own will—“*pulling them out of the fire.*”

¹ Cited by Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, book vii. p. 617.

Our supposed difficulty, then, turns out to be no difficulty at all. The second order of Priests were indeed at first, and in some places, called "bishops," as being in some sense "overseers;" but the Rulers of the Churches, the Angels themselves, were called not only bishops but Apostles, for they filled the Apostolic Office. We understand, therefore, why St. Paul speaks of *other* Apostles besides the Twelve, which he does in the first Epistle to the Corinthians; why he calls St. James, though not of the Twelve, an "*Apostle*," who, as we have seen, was Bishop of Jerusalem; why he applies the same title to Epaphroditus, which he does in this same Epistle to the Philippians, saying, "I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, *but your Apostle*, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον;"¹—and since he was not with his Church at this time, no wonder that St. Paul does not salute the Angel of Philippi by name, but only "the bishops (or presbyters) and deacons." "He calls the blessed Epaphroditus their Apostle," says Theodoret; "plainly therefore does he shew that he had been entrusted with the Office of Bishop,

¹ Calvin translates these words "Apostolum vestrum," and admits, in commenting upon the subsequent verses, that Epaphroditus was the Pastor of the Philippians: so Grotius, *In Epist. ad Phil.* cap. i. And Tillemont observes well, that St. Paul could not have styled Epaphroditus "Apostle" as being the first instrument in delivering the Gospel to the Philippians, because he had performed that office himself. *Mémoires*, &c. tome i. 2^{de} partie, p. 856.

since he bears the title of *Apostle* ;”¹—so little doubt had the Early Church that the one implied the other! And the same Theodoret tells us that Epaphroditus *was* Bishop of Philippi.

Nor had our Fathers any other thought of Bishops but as Successors in the very Office and Order of Apostles. And therefore St. Jerome on that saying of St. Paul, “Other *Apostles* saw I none save James the Lord’s brother,” observes thus: “For by degrees, as time went on, OTHERS WERE ORDAINED APOSTLES by those whom the Lord had chosen, as that passage to the Philippians proves, saying, ‘I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus your *Apostle*.’”² “The Bishops are called Apostles,” says Pacian, “as Paul declareth in speaking of Epaphroditus.”³ And why they ceased to

¹ . . . Σαφῶς τοίνυν ἐδίδαξεν, ὡς τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτὸς ἐπεπίστευτο, ἔχων ἀποστόλου προσηγορίαν. *ubi supra*.

² “Paulatim, tempore præcedente, et alii ab his quos Dominus elegerat ordinati sunt Apostoli; sicut ille ad Philippenses sermo declarat,” &c.; and then he observes that “St. Paul is speaking of such persons when he says, ‘Whether our brethren be inquired of, they are the *Apostles*—ἀπόστολοι—of the Churches, and the glory of Christ’ (2 Cor. viii. 23); and that Silas and Judas are both styled *Apostles* by the Apostles.” S. Hieron. *In Gal.* i. 19. tom. vi. p. 125. And St. Hilary, on the 2d chapter of Philippians, says, “He (Epaphroditus) was their *Apostle*—*eorum Apostolus*—and made so by the *Apostle*.” So Clement of Alexandria calls his namesake “the *Apostle* Clement,” *Stromat.* lib. iv. p. 516; and St. Austin, speaking of his own high office, says, “Ego minimus non solum omnium *Apostolorum*, sed omnium *Episcoporum*.” *De Actis cum Felice Manichæo*, lib. i. cap. vi. tom. vi. p. 207; and innumerable instances of the same way of speaking might be adduced. Cf. S. Athanas. *Ad Dracontium*, tom. i. p. 956; who certainly was quite sure that *Apostle* and *Bishop* were the same thing.

³ Pacian. *Epist.* i. ap. *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. iii. p. 431.

be so styled is not concealed from us. An ancient Father, who gives the same interpretation of St. Paul's words with the rest of his brethren, having remarked that, at first, the terms presbyter and bishop were applied to the same person, the name *Apostle* being given to those who were afterwards called Bishops, proceeds thus: "But in the course of time, they confined the title of Apostle to those who were truly so (*i. e.* the Twelve), and the appellation of Bishops they assigned to the persons *formerly styled Apostles*. Thus (or in this sense) Epaphroditus was the Apostle of the Philippians, thus Titus and Timothy were Apostles respectively of the Cretans and Asiatics."¹ So that whilst, in the Apostolic age, presbyters were sometimes called bishops, it was only because that highest Order of Church Governors to which this title was afterwards reserved were hitherto called "Apostles." And with this agrees the teaching of all God's servants. "The Bishops," says St. Ambrose, "are Apostles;"² and St. Cyprian, "the Lord appointed Apostles, that is, Bishops;"³ and St. Jerome, "Bishops occupy the place of Apostles;"⁴ and Pacian, "the Bishops are entitled Apostles;"⁵ and Tertullian, "were first ordained by the Apostles;"⁶

¹ Cited by Bloomfield, *Annot. in 1 Tim. iii.* vol. viii. p. 227.

² "Apostoli Episcopi sunt." tom. ii. p. 241.

³ "Apostolos, id est, Episcopos, Dominus elegit." *Ep. lxxv. Ad Rogatianum.*

⁴ "Apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent." *Ep. liv. Ad Marcellam.*

⁵ "Episcopi Apostoli nominantur." *ubi supra.*

⁶ *De Præscript. Hæret., and Adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. cap. v.

and St. Irenæus, “are traced in all Churches from the Apostles;”¹ and St. Austin, “are instead of Apostles;”² and, in one word, all the Saints and all Martyrs, all Churches and all times, declare the same truth,—that Bishops are the Apostles of the Most High; or that, in the words of Hooker, “*the first Bishops in the Church of Christ were His blessed Apostles.*”³

¹ Lib. iii. cap. iii.

² *In Psal.* xliv. tom. viii. p. 169; and St. Hilary of Poitiers, “O dignos successores Petri atque Pauli,” *Contra Arianos*, p. 442; and Amalarius, “Imitatio Episcoporum Apostolorum chorus est,” *De Ecc. Off.* lib. ii. cap. xii.; and so a host more, of whose unvarying testimony, confirmed as it is by the equally plain witness of Holy Scripture, we may confidently say, “*Traditio nihil aliud est quam Scripturæ ipsius explicatio et interpretatio;*” Cassand. *De Officio Pii Viri*, p. 782.

³ *E. P.* book vii. vol. iii. p. 183. A truth to which the divines of our own Church have constantly witnessed. “If there can be any better evidence under heaven,” says Bishop Hall, “for any matter of fact, let Episcopacy be for ever abandoned out of God’s Church.” *Humble Remonstrance*, &c. Works, vol. x. p. 280 (Oxon. 1837).

And Bishop Andrewes: “Our Church doth hold, there is a distinction between Bishop and Priest, and that *de jure divino.*” *Answer to Cardinal Perron*, Opuscul.

And Bishop Bilson: “Of this (the Apostolical Succession) there is so perfect record, in all the stories and Fathers of the Church, that I much muse with what face men that have any taste of learning can denie the vocation of Bishops came from the Apostles; for that they succeeded the Apostles and Evangelists in their Churches and chaires may inevitably be proved, if any Christian persons or Churches deserve to be credited.” *The Perpetual Government of Christ’s Church*, chap. xiii. p. 247.

And Bishop Bancroft: “Unlesse I could prove my Ordination lawfull *out of the Scriptures*, I would not be a Bishop four houres longer.” Vide Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, book x. cent. 17.

And Bishop Beveridge: “The continued and uninterrupted Succession, which is the great glory of our Church, and that which you

To conclude:—the ecclesiastical order was, it should seem, at first as follows: (1) Apostles; (2) Presbyters; (3) Deacons; the title of Bishop being applied sometimes to one order, sometimes to another. But when, after the Twelve were re-

can never sufficiently thank God for." *Sermons on the Church*, serm. ii. p. 58 (1837).

And Bishop Sanderson: "The Bishops (are) the lawful successors of the Apostles, and inheritors of their power." *On Episcopacy*, part iii. § 11.

And Archbishop Bramhall: "The line of Apostolical Succession is the very nerves and sinews of ecclesiastical unity and communion, both with the present Church, and with the Catholic Symbolical Church of all successive ages." *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, p. 29.

And Bishop Taylor: "Episcopacy relies not upon the authority of Fathers and Councils, but upon Scripture, upon the institution of Christ, or the institution of His Apostles, upon an universal tradition and an universal practice, not upon the words and opinions of the doctors; and it hath as great a testimony as Scripture itself hath." *Works*, vol. vii. *Dedication*, p. xviii. ed. Heber.

And Hooker: "Wherefore let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that if any thing in the Church's government, surely the first institution of Bishops was from heaven, was even of God, the Holy Ghost was the author of it." *E. P.* book vii. vol. iii. p. 205.

Lastly, so our two Martyrs, to whom it was given to seal their faith with their blood. "This I will say, and abide by it, that the calling of Bishops is *jure divino*, by divine right." Laud, *On Church Ritual*, p. 347 (1840). And his Royal Master: "It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfy myself in what the chief patrons for other ways can say against this, or for theirs; and I find they have, as far less of Scripture grounds and of reason, so for examples and practice of the Church, or testimonies of histories, they are wholly destitute; wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not *the least rivulet* for any other." *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, p. 145. Of which two testimonies we may surely say, with an ancient Father, "Intelligere debuerant aliquid in ea re esse rationis, quæ, non sine causa, usque ad mortem defendatur." Lactant. *De Justitia*, lib. v. p. 456.

moved to the Church in Heaven, the name "Apostle" seemed too sacred to be applied in its first latitude,—that is, to all the supreme Governors,—it ceased to be so used, and the office which it had indicated was henceforward denoted by a title not hitherto restricted to that purpose; the order being now, (1) Bishops; (2) Presbyters; (3) Deacons. "It clearly appeareth, therefore," says Hooker, "that Churches Apostolic did know but three degrees in the power of ecclesiastical order; at the first, Apostles, presbyters, and deacons; afterwards, instead of Apostles, Bishops." He adds: "Heaps of allegations in a case so evident and plain are needless. I may therefore safely conclude, that there are at this day in the Church of England no other than the same degrees of ecclesiastical order, namely, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Christ and His blessed Apostles themselves."

This conclusion we shall see further cause to adopt in the progress of these pages: meanwhile, to use the emphatic language of the same wise and holy man, "High time it is to give over the obstinate defence of this most miserable forsaken cause; in the favour whereof neither God, nor amongst so many wise and virtuous men as Antiquity hath brought forth, any one can be found to have hitherto directly spoken. Irksome confusion must of necessity be the end whereunto all such vain and ungrounded confidence doth bring, as hath nothing to

bear it out but only an excessive measure of bold and peremptory words, holpen by the start of a little time, before they came to be examined. *In the writings of the Ancient Fathers there is not any thing with more serious asseveration inculcated, than that it is God which maketh bishops, that their authority hath divine allowance, that the bishop is the priest of God, that he is judge in Christ's stead, that according to God's own law the whole Christian fraternity standeth bound to obey him.* Of this there was not in the Christian world of old any doubt or controversy made, it was a thing universally every where agreed upon. What should move men to judge that now so unlawful and naught, which was then so reverently esteemed? Surely no other cause but this: men were in those times meek, lowly, tractable, willing to live in dutiful awe and subjection unto the pastors of their souls; now we imagine ourselves so able every man to teach and direct all others, that none of us can brook it to have superiors; and for a mask to hide our pride, we pretend falsely the law of Christ, as if we did seek the execution of His will, when, in truth, we look for the mere satisfaction of our own against His."¹

¹ *Ibid.* book vii. vol. iii. pp. 323, 4.

CHAPTER III.

EVIDENCE OF ANTIQUITY.

I. IF the Sacred Records had supplied no such evidence as has now been adduced—in other words, if there had been no recognition whatever in Holy Scripture of that ecclesiastical system which, from the beginning, all ages and almost all men have believed to be divine,—even in that case, no progress would have been made towards proving it human. The truth of that system is not, as the adversary desires to represent it, a distinct, independent proposition, subject to the ordinary methods of proof, and to be tested by the amount of positive evidence which can be exhibited in its behalf; very far otherwise. It cannot even be approached at all as a *separate* question. It is indissolubly connected with the integrity of the Gospel Revelation, closely linked with the free promises of the Gospel Covenant. A beautiful scheme in itself, it is but a small portion of one incalculably more vast and extended; and it is impossible, so delicate are the relations between them, that the one should be seriously affected without a proportionate derangement of the other. It is important to notice the connexion here spoken

of, which a few illustrations will serve to explain more clearly.

It is asserted by some that the Episcopal Office, as now exercised, was not instituted by Christ or His Apostles; that it was, in fact, an invention of men, and a corruption of the true divine discipline. And it is supposed by those who advocate this theory, that it is directed merely against one particular view of ecclesiastical polity, which may be considered upon its own merits, and be accepted or denied without reference to any other truth or doctrine whatsoever. How erroneous this notion is we easily perceive when we come to examine the theory in question, which, far from being opposed only to one certain form or mode of Church discipline, will be found to involve moreover a series of the most amazing consequences, such as, among others, the following:—

First, inasmuch as the supposed corruption or alteration of the Divine discipline which this theory assumes, was effected, as it takes for granted, close upon the days of the Apostles, and therefore with the connivance of vast numbers of their disciples, we must be prepared to believe that our Saviour's Ordinance was set aside by His earliest and most favoured followers, and that men who had seen it administered by Apostles, and had embraced it themselves at the peril of their lives, had yet boldness to conceive and leisure to accomplish its total subversion. Next, we must think, that this

act of hypothetical wickedness was consummated in every part of the world at once without consultation, and yet every where without variation; the Bishops seizing upon an office which only marked them out as the first victims for death, while the Presbyters abandoned one for which no recompense was even offered, which no power could have wrested from them, and to which they had been exalted by Christ Himself;—the Bishops, in other words, being cruel and crafty, only to court sufferings which they might have avoided;¹ and the Presbyters feeble and base, only to throw away honours which they might have preserved.² And

¹ And yet “who will imagine,” as Bishop Taylor eloquently writes, “that Bishops should at the first, in the calature of their infant devotion, in the new spring of Christianity, in the times of persecution, in all the public disadvantages of state and fortune, when they anchored only upon the shore of a holy conscience, that then they should have thoughts ambitious, encroaching, of usurpation and advantages, of purpose to divest their brethren of an authority entrusted them by Christ; and then, too, when all the advantages of their honour did only set them upon a hill, to feel a stronger blast of persecution?” *Episcopacy Asserted*, p. 181. That the fury of the persecutors was commonly directed in the first place against the Bishops, a slight acquaintance with ecclesiastical history will prove; and there would be obvious reasons for such a policy. See the statement of Eusebius quoted by Barrow, vol. i. p. 350; and compare Caspar. Sagittar. *De Martyrum Cruciatibus in Primitiva Ecclesia*, cap. iii. § 11. p. 69; and Pauli Orosii *Adv. Paganos Histor.* lib. vii. cap. 27.

² Which is an equally extravagant supposition; for if the low state of mind which is implied in the desire of pre-eminence was so common with the primitive Presbyters, how is it that they who were *unsuccessful* were so patient under their disappointment? “Consider what mutinies, what animosities, what oppositions within, what scandals without, must have followed, if any had been excluded from rights possessed before. And how could they have prevailed

yet further, we must suppose, not only that this change was effected throughout a world without concert and without resistance, in every land at the same moment, every where a new invention and yet every where the same,—all Churches, without exception, departing from the Apostles' order, and all, without consultation or the possibility of it,¹ setting up precisely the same substitute,—but, more wonderful still, that of this prodigious movement, this wondrous device conceived in the womb of every Church at the same hour, and begotten throughout every land in the same

that had encroached, when they had no power to force their subjects, but the conviction of their subjects' consciences concerning their own right? and wherewithal the right itself, whatever it was, must have been so notorious? How could all the different independent churches have been so unanimous in owning this claim, if it had indeed been an encroachment? It is not probable they would all have yielded their rights *willingly*; much less is it probable that they could have been forced by the practices of single persons to part with them *unwillingly*, when there was no other force that could be offered to them but pure considerations of conscience, granted on the merits of the course itself." Dodwell, *On the Soul*, § 59. p. 297. And, besides, it has even been made a reproach to Christianity by scoffers, that the early Christians did contend so vehemently about what they call small matters. "Church history," we have been told, "is chiefly a relation of Churchmen's wrangles;" and one author has "denominated every century from some eminent quarrel which arose among the Clergy!" Sam. Johnson's *Growth of Deism in England*, p. 21. Of course this is profane jesting; but if it were ever so true, it would only supply an argument in our favour;—for if they quarrelled so sharply about the least matters, how came they all to agree to this sudden and wonderful change without either consultation before or complaint afterwards?

¹ Vide Mosheim, *De Rebus ante Constantinum*, secul. i. § 48. p. 155, who says, that no Councils *could* have been called together at that time for any purpose, and therefore not for this.

form, no history that the world ever saw gives any account, no man that ever lived makes any mention! Not only were the laws of universal Christendom subverted, but never Christian knew or heard of the change! It will follow, moreover, from the same premise, that our Saviour Christ suffered His own design to be thwarted from the first by the folly or treachery of man; that He resigned His whole Church to a delusion so mysterious and overwhelming, that they who destroyed His Discipline were unconscious of their own act, and they who submitted to the change did not know that any change had been made. It will appear that He did *not* “guide” His followers “into all truth,” though He had freely promised to do so; nor save His Church from shame and contempt, though He died to exalt her to honour. And lastly, that the ignorance and folly of His servants was exactly proportioned to their zeal and self-denial,—His Saints most blindly mistaking His will, and His Martyrs most resolutely opposing it! Such are a few of the startling results which accompany the hypothesis, that Episcopacy is a *corruption* of the Discipline of Christ.

Let it be repeated, therefore, that the truth of the Ecclesiastical System cannot be considered at all as a separate question. The fulfilment of Prophecy¹ and the very existence of the Church, the

¹ “Quoniam Ecclesiam Dei quæ Catholica dicitur, sicut de illa prophetatum est, per orbem terrarum diffusam videmus, arbitramur

promises of God and our own interest in them—almost all that is sacred or precious, enter into and are inseparable from it. If it could be proved to want evidence, Christianity itself would be undermined; for the Revelation which was utterly misconceived in so principal a point during fifteen ages, could have been no Revelation at all.¹ So that, as was observed, if the Sacred Records had been as scanty as they are copious in their testimony in this matter, even then our confidence in the faith of our Fathers would have continued unimpaired. We should have felt that the negative argument from the silence of Scripture could not countervail the positive testimony supplied by its own promises, and the interpretation put upon those promises by all ages and people. And thus there would still have remained an appeal to *other*

nos non debere dubitare de tam evidentissima completionē sanctæ prophetiæ." Aug. *Honorato*, Ep. clxi. tom. ii. p. 276.

¹ Τὰ γὰρ νῦν παρ' ἐκείνων καινοτομούμενα, τοῖς μὲν πιστεύουσιν ἀπιστίαν ἐμποιεῖ. S. Athanas. *De Synod. Arim. et Seleuc.* tom. i. p. 875. And this argument, from the general consent of mankind, has been much used even by the moderns: Calvin proves the Canon of Scripture by it; *Institut.* lib. i. cap. viii. § 12; and his associates employed it constantly against those who went a little further than themselves. Nor can we over-estimate its importance when we consider that by its force alone, or at least chiefly, the heathen was constrained to accept, so far as he held it, the true doctrine of the nature of the soul. This interesting fact is thus stated by Cicero:—"Quod si omnium consensus *naturæ vox est*, omnesque, qui ubique sunt, consentiunt esse aliquid, quod ad eos pertineat, qui e vita cesserint; nobis quoque idem existimandum est; Sed ut Deos esse natura opinamur, qualesque sint ratione cognoscimus; *sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium*; qua in sede maneant, qualesque sint, ratione discendum est." *Quæst. Tusculan.* i. 15, 16.

sources of information equally provided by God—those, namely, from which we have received Holy Scripture itself; to which I proceed therefore, in the next place, to refer. And the first witness cited from these additional informants shall be ST. CLEMENT OF ROME.

II. There are many reasons why we should begin with the evidence of this eminent person. Living amongst Apostles, and “*fellow-labourer*” with them, as St. Paul himself has recorded;¹ having, moreover, the testimony of the Spirit that “his name was in the Book of Life,” it is needless to insist upon his qualifications as a witness upon the subject of these pages. He could not be deceived, because he lived with the Apostles themselves; and he could not deceive, because he was already elected to eternal life. And if it be said, that “it is dangerous to listen to an uninspired teacher,” it may be replied, first, that there is no thought of putting his words on a level with Holy Scripture, which may quiet all uneasiness on that head; and, secondly, that the primitive Christians were content to receive his instruction, which may very well keep *us* from despising it. It is a subtle scheme of the enemy which would steal away our treasures by persuading us to think them worthless, and tempt us to put out the light in our hands

¹ Phil. iv. 3. Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς.

by hinting that it may dazzle our eyes. But why should we suffer him to pluck from us our riches, on the mocking plea that we are better without them?¹ St. Clement is the foremost of those “Catholic Fathers and Ancient Bishops,” to whom the Church to which we belong refers her children for instruction.² We thankfully accept her guidance, and will listen to him without fear or doubt.

We are told by one who was born only a few years after St. John’s death, that Clement was the third Bishop of Rome.³ Upon the same authority we learn, that his Epistle was addressed to the Church at Corinth on account of “*no small sedition*”⁴ which had broken out amongst its members. It was to compose this that his exhortation was written; and as the design of the letter in which it is contained was thus limited, we must not expect that it should take a wide scope, nor afford us much information; though it seems to furnish some which is very important in itself, as well

¹ “Since we have an advantage over and above Scripture evidence, from the concurring sentiments of antiquity, we think it very proper to take that in also; and we shall not easily suffer it to be wrested from us.” Waterland, *Defence of Query XXIX.* vol. i. pt. ii. p. 326. Or, as it has been more forcibly said, “Truth alone is consistent with itself; we are willing to take either the test of Antiquity or of Scripture.” Newman, *On Romanism, &c.* Lect. i. p. 47.

² In one of the Canons published together with the 39 Articles, A.D. 1571. See Bp. Cosins on the *Canon of Scripture*, ad finem.

³ St. Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. iii.

⁴ *στάσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης.* *Id.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 6. For the date of this Epistle, vide Grabe, *Spicileg.* tom. i. p. 255, who fixes it before the year 70, Bp. Pearson in 68, and Dodwell between 63-65.

as quite conclusive on the subject under consideration.

St. Clement begins by expressing his regret that he had not sooner given heed "*to that wicked and detestable sedition, altogether unbecoming the elect of God, which a few hasty and self-willed persons had excited.*"¹ Observe, he does not charge them, any more than St. Paul did, with holding corrupt doctrine, but with some breach of discipline: they were "hasty and self-willed," and the authors of a "wicked and detestable sedition."

He proceeds to remind them of a former state of innocence. "*Ye did all things,*" says he, "*without respect of persons, and walked according to the laws of God; being subject to your rulers, and yielding due honour to the presbyters;*"²—where there is a distinct enumeration of the *Ruler* and the *Presbyter*, the one receiving submission and obedience, the other respect and honour; and the reference is to spiritual governors. He adds, "*Ye were all of you humble-minded, not boasting of any thing, desiring rather to be subject than to govern.*"³ Their

¹ Τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ μιαρᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίους στάσεως, ἣν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα προπετῇ καὶ αὐθάδῃ ὑπάρχοντα . . . ἐξέκασαν. *Ad Cor.* cap. i. Mr. Chevallier's translation has been mainly followed.

² Ἀπροσωπολήπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποιεῖτε, καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπορεύεσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις. *Ibid.* "Where the *Rulers*," says Bp. Beveridge, "are manifestly distinguished from the *Presbyters*." *Codex Canonum*, p. 312.

³ Cap. ii.

offence, therefore, was impatience of government; for he is contrasting their present state of insubordination with their former state of obedience, when, as he puts them in mind, "*all sedition and all schism was an abomination unto you.*"¹

Having referred, incidentally, to the recent martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, and commended the loveliness of a meek and lowly mind, he gives this practical admonition, "*It is therefore just and holy, men and brethren, that we should become obedient unto God, rather than follow those who, through pride and sedition, have made themselves the leaders of a detestable emulation.*"²

St. Clement continues his exhortation by quoting the whole of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, and part of the twenty-second Psalm. The Corinthians are next reminded of certain eminent examples of obedience exhibited in the Old Testament history. It is then suggested to them, that even the order and harmony of creation are, as it were, lively homilies, by which men are taught that concord and submission are well pleasing to God their Maker; and his application of all this is, "*Let us honour those who are set over us.*"³

¹ Πᾶσα στάσις καὶ πᾶν σχίσμα βδελυκτὸν ὑμῖν. *Ibid.*

² Δίκαιον οὖν καὶ ὀσιον, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ, ὑπηκόους ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον γενέσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἢ τοῖς ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ καὶ ἀκαταστασίᾳ μυσταροῦ ζήλου ἀρχηγοῖς ἐξακολουθεῖν. cap. xiv.

³ Τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν αἰδεσθῶμεν, cap. xxi. : he continues, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν τιμήσωμεν, making the same distinction as before between the *Ruler* and the *Presbyter*. The analogy between the order of the visible creation and that of the Catholic Church is noticed

The necessity of obedience, so perseveringly enforced by this Apostolic person, is still further instanced by the willing submission which is paid to earthly governors; amongst whom, St. Clement observes, "*all are not captains of the host, all are not commanders of a thousand, nor of an hundred, nor of fifty, nor the like;*"¹ where, if the subject of his Epistle be considered, he must seem to imply, that there is a like gradation of spiritual offices. "*Foolish and unwise men,*" he goes on to say, "*who have neither prudence nor learning, may mock and deride us, willing to set up themselves in their own conceits;*"² which language does not seem less applicable to our own times than that which has gone before:—but I pass on now to other and, for our present purpose, more important passages.

Thus far, it will be observed, the earnest admonitions of this Epistle are all addressed, on the one hand, to the enforcing submission and loyal obedience to constituted authority, and, on the other, to the reproof of a "*detestable emulation*" in

with his usual eloquence by S. Gregory Nazianzen; Τάξις οὖν, he says, τὸ πᾶν συνεστήσατο, τάξις συνέχει καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια, τάξις ἐν νοητοῖς, τάξις ἐν αἰσθητοῖς, τάξις ἐν ἀγγέλοις, τάξις ἐν ἄστροις καὶ κινήσει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ σχέσει τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ λαμπρότητι τάξις καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, τὸ μὲν εἶναι τι ποίμνιον, τὸ δὲ ποιμένας διώρισε· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν, τὸ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι. *Orat.* xxvi. tom. i. pp. 447-9.

¹ Cap. xxxvii.

² Cap. xxxix. "Multi enim sunt qui simulantes fidem non subditi sunt fidei, sibi que fidem ipsi potius constituunt, quam accipiunt, sensu humanæ inanitatis inflati, dum quæ volunt sapiunt, et nolunt sapere quæ vera sunt; cum sapientiæ hæc veritas sit, ea interdum sapere quæ nolis." S. Hilarii *De Trinitate*, lib. viii. p. 159.

things spiritual.¹ St. Clement proceeds now to illustrate his doctrine by the example of the Apostles themselves, whose friend and companion he had been.

He speaks of their manifold labours in preaching the Gospel of Christ, and it is while on this subject that he is led to make the statement contained in the following well-known passage: "Preaching thus," he says, "through countries and cities, they appointed the first fruits (of their conversions) to be bishops and ministers over such as should afterwards believe, having first proved them by the Spirit. Nor was this any new thing, seeing that long before it was written concerning bishops and deacons. For thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, *I will appoint their overseers (bishops) in righteousness, and their ministers (deacons) in faith.*"²

This interpretation of the evangelical Prophet, and the application of his words to the Christian

¹ "In the present age, in which no bounds seem to be set to claims of liberty of conscience, it is deserving of the most serious consideration among Christians, that the chief topic insisted on by the two Apostolical Fathers, Clement and Ignatius, is *Church Union*; and the grand object of their writing is to persuade men from separating for slight pretences from their lawful Pastors." Collinson's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 45.

² Κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς, ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγγεγραπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων· οὕτως γὰρ που λέγει ἡ γραφή, Καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει. cap. xlii.

Priesthood, while it accounts for the emotions of awe, wonder, and thankfulness with which that portion of Christ's Institution has ever been regarded by the faithful, is a moving admonition indeed to those who have been persuaded, in late years, to "resist" this "Ordinance of God." And we cannot be surprised that a recognition of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, such as is here derived from the Prophet by this Apostolical man, should have proved a stumbling-block to such persons, nor that their utmost labour should have been exerted in removing it out of their way. What method they have employed to turn aside the edge which was too keen to be grasped with naked hands, shall now be noticed. It is humiliating to watch the efforts of a perverse and ill-advised ingenuity; but to this our present task compels us, and a miserable instance is the one under consideration. "St. Clement speaks here"—it is thus that the modern teachers defend themselves—"of bishops and deacons as appointed by the Apostles: it follows then, from this testimony, that he knew of only two orders of ministers; for if he had known of three, he would have enumerated them:"—this is their answer.¹ Now we shall see pre-

¹ "Sure the enemies of Episcopacy," says Dr. Gauden, "are hardly driven to find testimonies against it, when they are forced to wrest them out of such writers as were themselves Bishops!" *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria*, book iv. ch. xix. p. 554. The learned historian Weisman candidly rebukes his brethren for asserting that St. Clement confounded the two orders; confessing, at the same time,

sently that he *does* enumerate three orders, and so supply in his own words the omission charged upon him; but his evidence would have been conclusive, even if it had stopped here, and that for many reasons.

For it is admitted, upon this express declaration of one who could not be mistaken, that the Apostles did certainly ordain *Bishops* and *Deacons*,—it is only the rank and character of these officers which is in dispute; and again, whether at that time there were *three* orders of Ministers in the Church, which the adversary, having reduced them to two, or none, is compelled to deny.

Now it will probably be allowed that these “bishops” mentioned by St. Clement were either governing Prelates, such as rule the Churches in our own day, or else co-ordinate presbyters; either what Catholic Antiquity believed them to be, or such as modern sects affirm;—we need not concern ourselves with any other supposition. Let us take the latter hypothesis first; and then, if these bishops of whom the Saint speaks were only presbyters, and so no more than *two* orders are here spoken of as appointed by the Apostles, we must ask as before, What were the Apostles themselves who ordained and governed them? to which order did they belong? were they presbyters or deacons?

that it is undeniable, “from the unanimous declaration of the ancients, that Clement himself was Bishop of Rome.” *Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 76.

Neither one nor the other, being, as almost every page of the New Testament history shews, distinct from and higher than either; and therefore, even on this supposition, there were three orders in the Church in St. Clement's day,—namely, Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons.

If, however, they were, as is most certain, single Rulers, such as St. James, Epaphroditus, and others, and so *themselves* Apostles, then it remains to inquire why the *second* order is omitted in St. Clement's enumeration, for we have in this case but two, viz. Bishops or Apostles, and Deacons. To this question several answers shall now be made.¹

¹ This may indeed seem needless, because, since he had mentioned the third order, of presbyters, twice already, his enumeration was complete. But suppose that the Apostles did appoint at first, in some places, only Bishops and Deacons, this would be far enough from proving that they never appointed the whole three orders: for, as Epiphanius has observed, their ecclesiastical arrangements could only, from the nature of the case, be perfected gradually. "The Apostles were not able," he says, "to arrange all things definitively at first." And therefore "where in any place no one (of the new converts) was found worthy to be entrusted with the Episcopate, that place remained without a Bishop; but where, from the populousness of the place, or other causes, a Bishop was necessary, there the appointment was made." And so this Father continues, referring, by way of analogy, to the slender beginnings of the Jewish economy, when Moses went forth with only a rod. *Hæres.* lxxv. tom. i. pp. 908, 9. And with this agrees the comment of Jerome upon that saying of St. Paul, "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order *the things that are wanting*;" "*Quæ desunt recto tenore corrige*," says St. Jerome, "*et tunc demum presbyteros poteris ordinare, cum omnes in ecclesia fuerint recti.*" *Ad Tit.* i. tom. viii. p. 286. And at least the adversary cannot impeach this reasoning; for, not to mention other instances, John Daillé replies to

(1.) And first, St. Clement is here writing, not in controversy, but in exhortation ; and he is addressing men who knew what the gradations of the Christian Priesthood were as well as he did, for they saw them before their eyes. There would have been a kind of absurdity in his aiming at accurate statements or *arguing* with them upon such a subject, as great as if a modern divine should trouble himself to prove that the English Church confesses three orders of Ministers, or the Prayer-book contains three Creeds,—such things are not proved, but taken for granted.

(2.) And this we see actually done both in the word of God and the teaching of the Church. How many passages are there in the Epistles, and generally throughout the New Testament, in which, as has been already observed, imperfect, and at first sight contradictory, statements are found ; some in which the Eternal Father alone is spoken of as Supreme, others in which two Persons of the Holy Trinity are glorified, the Third—sometimes the Son, and sometimes the Holy Ghost—being the fact, that “there were no lay-elders in the times of the Apostles,” with this argument : “True, but then there were no parishes, and presbyters and deacons *would suffice* in that early state of the Church.” *Thes. Salmur. De Vario Eccles. Christian. Regimine*, § 38. pars iii. p. 356. And this I find unexpectedly confirmed, though for his own purposes, by one of the modern German critics. “Omnino vero notandum est, ecclesiæ primævæ conditores *fundamenta tantum jecisse* hujus societatis, ad altiore[m] indies *perfectionis* gradum evehenda, prout temporum, locorum, et singulorum cœtuum rationes postulaverint.” Wegscheider, *Prolegom.* pars iii. cap. v. § 182. p. 525.

omitted. And again, how do the inspired writers vary, or rather seem to vary, in their account of Church-Officers, now giving one description of them and presently a new one, and omitting in one place to notice at all an order the appointment of which had been expressly recorded in another. Yet all these passages, which, taken by themselves, as heretics are used to do, appear defective, speak the same voice when arranged and combined.

And so the Church of England, which, in two several places of her Liturgy, has described the whole body of the Priesthood under the *two* classes of "*Bishops and Curates*," teaches, in a third, that "from the Apostles' time there have been these *three* orders, viz. Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." And this is all the contradiction which we shall observe in St. Clement.

(3.) Again; that these apparently defective statements are consistent with the most emphatic acknowledgment of the Catholic System, appears from this, that the same omission here noticed in St. Clement is found in other writers, whose reception of the three orders is quite notorious. I will mention a few instances.

Clement of Alexandria in two places speaks of the Clergy as if they consisted only of Presbyters and Deacons, for in the passages referred to he limits his notice to those two orders; yet it was after using such language that he could presently

make that striking observation so often quoted, "*I imagine that the Ecclesiastical gradations (or promotions) of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are imitations of the Angelic glory.*"¹ It was quite possible, then, to speak of the *two* orders, and yet to have deep and awful notions of the three.

Tertullian, the earliest of the Latin Fathers, writing almost at the same date, supplies another but a different instance: he too speaks only of two orders; but it is the presbyters whom he omits in his enumeration. "What if a *bishop*," he says in a certain place, "or a *deacon*, or a widow, or a virgin, or a doctor, or even a martyr, should err from the faith,"² &c.; where he omits to speak of that very order of the Priesthood to which he himself belonged.

St. Jerome does the like in many places, and very remarkably in his comments upon the Sacred Scriptures. Thus in the forty-fifth Psalm he supposes David to predict that God would give to His Church *Bishops* in the place of *Apostles*, after the removal of the latter; and that they should be, as the Psalmist speaks, "*princes in all the earth*:" here he interprets the word of God as speaking of *one* only of the three orders, omitting Presbyters and

¹ Ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προκοπαὶ, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, μιμήματα οἶμαι ἀγγελικῆς δόξης. *Stromat.* lib. vi. p. 667; cf. lib. vii. p. 700.

² "Quid ergo si episcopus, si diaconus, si vidua, si virgo, si doctor, si etiam martyr lapsus a regula fuerit, ideo hæresis veritatem videbantur obtinere?" *De Præscript. Hæret.* cap. iii.

Deacons.¹ Again, he gives the same interpretation to the words of the Prophet Isaiah, which has already been quoted from St. Clement.² In another place he takes up and carries on the exposition of Origen upon the mysterious Song of Solomon; in which scripture he finds not only the two orders of Bishops and Presbyters described, but also a *distinction* made between their offices. Here, then, he omits—that is, he supposes the Holy Spirit to omit—only the third order, namely, Deacons.³ Elsewhere he even takes the pains to account for St. Paul's passing abruptly, in his Epistle to Timothy, from the duties of a Bishop to those of a Deacon, saying, that the Apostle “*included pres-*

¹ “Pro Patribus tuis nati sunt, &c.—Fuerint, ô Ecclesia, Apostoli patres tui, quia ipsi te genuerunt. Nunc autem, quia illi recesserunt a mundo, *habes pro his Episcopos filios*, qui a te creati sunt. Sunt enim et hi patres tui, *quia ab ipsis regeris*. [Constitues eos principes, &c.] Constituit Christus sanctos suos super omnes populos. In nomine enim Dei dilatatum est evangelium in omnibus finibus mundi; in quibus principes Ecclesiæ, id est, Episcopi, constituti sunt.” *In Psal.* xlv. tom. vii. p. 57.

² Quoting, like St. Clement, the version of the Septuagint. “Ponam, inquit, principes tuos in pace et episcopos tuos in justitia. Pro quo in Hebraico scriptum est, Ponam visitationem tuam pacem, et præpositos tuos in justitiam. In quo scripturæ sanctæ admiranda majestas, quod *principes futuros ecclesiæ* episcopos nominavit; quorum omnis visitatio in pace est, et vocabulum dignitatis in justitia,” &c. *Comment. in Esai.* cap. lx. tom. iv. pp. 202, 3.

³ *In Cantic. Canticorum*, Homil. iii. tom. viii. p. 152. It is curious that this divine book, which is so perplexing to the adversary, because it can hardly be ‘wrested’ to bear any other than a catholic interpretation, has been rejected by sectaries of our own day as well as of earlier ages. Vide Leontii Byzantini *Contra Nestor. et Eutych.* lib. ii. cap. xvi.

byters under the name of bishops;"¹ and again, after noticing what he prescribes to bishops, he adds, "No less carefulness did he manifest in the *third* order;"²—yet he had said nothing of that order which intervened.

Similar instances occur in the writings of St. Augustine. He too supposes the Psalmist of Israel to be making mention in the forty-fifth Psalm of the Bishops who should hereafter be appointed in Christ's Church;³—and an awful reflection it should be to the adversary, that the Old Testament was so interpreted by such men. The venerable Bede speaks, after Augustine, of St. Paul ordaining "presbyters and deacons,"⁴ omitting the first order; and the pseudo-Augustine—perhaps Tichonius—of "bishops and presbyters only,"⁵ omitting the third. And many other instances might be added;⁶ but these are quite enough to shew

¹ "Quæritur cur de presbyteris nullam fecerit mentionem, sed eos in episcoporum nomine *comprehenderit*; quia *secundus* imo pene est unus gradus, sicut ad Philippenses episcopis ac diaconis scribit, cum una civitas *plures Episcopos habere non possit*." *In 1 ad Tit.* cap. iii. tom. viii. p. 277. So St. Ambrose; "Nam in Episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est princeps est sacerdotum." *In Ephes.* iv. tom. ii. p. 241.

² *Ad Heliodor.* Epist. i. tom. i. p. 2.

³ *Enarrat.* tom. viii. p. 169. Cf. *In Evangel. Joannis Expos.* tract. i. tom. ix. p. 3; where his comment is of the same solemn yet practical character.

⁴ *Ad Tit.* cap. i. fol. 300. ed. Paris. 1522.

⁵ *In Apocalypsin*, Homil. ii. tom. ix. p. 356.

⁶ All illustrating a distinction, which appears to have been quite common with the ancients, between the *Sacerdotal* and the *Ministerial* office; the former including Bishops and Presbyters, as being

that St. Clement need not have been ignorant of the three orders, even if he had spoken only of two.

(4.) Once more: another and an independent class of witnesses remains to be heard. This Epistle of St. Clement used to be read publicly, as I have noticed elsewhere, in the Churches, and that as late as the fourth century.¹ But, according to the adversary, it testifies against the Christian Hierarchy: observe, then, what follows from the fact just mentioned. Thus much we conclude from it,—that if this Epistle be evidence, as they wish to think, against the Church System, then either those ancient Christians in whose ears it was so often read did not perceive this, or else they were content to listen to words which convicted themselves of having departed from the primitive discipline;—that is, they were not only wicked enough to have changed the discipline of Christ, but so foolish as to keep up a perpetual memorial of the change! It is too much which our brethren ask of us, when they bid us think all our forefathers not only faithless but fatuous too. And if the first four ages regarded this writing as

equally Priests; the latter Deacons. St. Cyprian (quoted by Parker, *Government of the Church*, § 3.) frequently makes this distinction. Cf. Estii *Comment.* lib. iv. p. 2. § 25. for a somewhat different example.

¹ “Scripsit ex persona Romanæ Ecclesiæ ad ecclesiam Corinthiorum valde utilem Epistolam, quæ et in nonnullis publice legitur.” S. Hieron. *Catal. Script. Eccles.*

a witness to Catholic truth, we must be allowed, for our part, to think it so still.¹

(5.) It follows from what has been said, that this passage of St. Clement, upon which we have been so long engaged, needs no addition to render it a complete and decisive testimony to the Apostolical institution of the three Orders of the Ministry. And now, in conclusion, even if it did need such addition, St. Clement himself has supplied it. Let us refer again to his Epistle, that we may learn in what manner he has done this.

In the chapter, then, which follows, he goes on to say, that it was no wonder the Apostles made the appointments above mentioned, when it is considered what Moses did in the like case; by whom, as he remarks, the Levitical Priesthood was instituted, “that there might be no division;”² and then he continues thus—“*So likewise our Apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ that contentions should arise on account of (or for the dignity of³) the overseership (episcopate). And therefore, having a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed persons, as*

¹ Δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς κατὰ σκοπὸν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τῶν πατέρων πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ τούτους μιμεῖσθαι. S. Athanas. *Ad Dracontium*, tom. i. p. 955.

² Ἵνα μὴ ἀκαταστασία γένηται ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ. cap. xliii.

³ “Ὁνομα significat ἀξίωμα.” Hammond, *Dissert.* v. cap. vi. § 8. St. Austin seems to have had the same anticipation—if it be lawful to speak of it in such a connexion—and, in providing his own successor, thus expressed it: “Scio post obitus episcoporum, per ambitiosos aut contentiosos solere *Ecclesias perturbari*; et quod sæpe expertus sum et dolui, debeo quantum ad me attinet ne contingat huic prospicere civitati.” *Epist.* cx. tom. ii. p. 195.

*we have before said, and then gave a prescribed order in what manner, when they should die, other chosen and approved men should succeed in their ministry."*¹

There is only one conclusion from these very important words which I shall stay to notice here: it is this, that the Christian Priesthood is referred to the Jewish as, in some sort, its type; and that by one who could not but know well the mind of the Apostles on this solemn matter. The Jewish Priesthood, he says, was appointed "that there might be no division;" and the Christian Priesthood for precisely the same reason. But on this point hear him again. "*We ought to take heed*"—so the Saint speaks in a previous passage—"that we do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord hath commanded us to do. That we perform our offerings and services to God at their appointed seasons; for these He hath commanded to be done not rashly nor disorderly, but at certain determinate times and hours."² If the Head of the Church did indeed

¹ Καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγινωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομήν δεδώκασιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. cap. xliv.

² Πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ὅσα ὁ Δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους· τὰς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἰκὴ ἢ ἀτάκτως ἐκέλευσεν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὠρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις. cap. xl. "By the one, προσφορὰ, we must understand the species of fruits of the earth and meats which the people offered, out of which the Eucharist being celebrated, the rest was spent in the Agapa, or feast of love, to which the words of the Apostle are to be

so appoint,—and St. Clement would know through His Apostles,—shall we suppose that He left modes of administration to chance, or caprice of men? Let us hear St. Clement further: “*He hath Himself ordained by His supreme will both where and by what persons they are to be performed, that all things being piously done unto all well-pleasing, they may be acceptable unto His will. They, therefore, who make their oblations at the appointed seasons are accepted and happy; for they sin not, inasmuch as they obey the commandments of the Lord.*” And then follow immediately these remarkable words: “*For to the Chief-Priest his peculiar offices are given, and to the Priests their own place is appointed, and to the Levites appertain their proper ministries. And the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen.*”¹

We shall estimate duly this passage only by connecting it with the other teaching of this Apostolical witness. He has told us, then, that the Apostles prescribed, with a special reference to the Episcopate, or overseership, *an order of succession* in the Ministry; again, that they appointed *Bishops* and *Deacons*; and further, that the Christians of Corinth “were subject to their *chief-rulers*, and

referred; by the other, *λειτουργία*, the Eucharist, for celebration whereof he is so earnest with them to keep due order in their assemblies.” Thorndike, *Primitive Government of Churches*, chap. vi.

¹ Τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεὶ ἰδία λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσὶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευῖταις ἰδία διακονίαι ἐπὶκείνται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται. *ubi supra.*

gave due honour to their *presbyters* ;” and lastly, that we ought all to “venerate the one” — still making the same distinction between these two officers — “and to reverence the other.” St. Clement, that is, speaks of the following Ecclesiastical Orders, — Bishops, or Chief-rulers ; Presbyters (distinguished from the Rulers) ; and Deacons. And now, in exhorting the Corinthians to the due celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and the suppression of schisms, — the two prominent subjects of his letter, — no more suitable admonition for these Christians occurs to him than this, that, by God’s own appointment, obedience was due in their several stations to the “*High Priest, Priests, and Levites.*”¹

¹ And this, as is well known, was a way of speaking quite common with the primitive writers, whose familiar use of the phraseology of the Jewish Synagogue is seen in such passages as the following. St. Jerome says very plainly, “What Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the Temple, the same are the Bishop, the Priests, and the Deacons, in the Church.” *Epist. lxxxv. Ad Evagrium*, tom. ii. p. 311 ; and he repeats it, *Ad Nepotianum*, *Epist. ii. tom. i. p. 5.* Tertullian styles the Bishop “*High Priest* ;” *De Baptismo*, cap. xvii. p. 263. St. Cyprian expressly traces the analogy between the ancient Levites and the corresponding order in the Church of Christ ; *Epist. lxvi. p. 114* ; and, as Hooker has observed, “deemed it no wresting of Scripture to challenge as much for Christian Bishops as was given to the High Priest among the Jews, and to urge *the law of Moses* as being most effectual to prove it.” *E. P. book vii. vol. iii. p. 211.* Vide S. Cyprian. *Epist. lxv. p. 113.* St. Leo the Great, even when contrasting the elder with the later Dispensation, says, “Nunc etenim et ordo clarior *Levitarum*, et dignitas amplior *Seniorum*, et sacratior est unctio *Sacerdotum.*” *Serm. lvii. De Passione Domini*, tom. i. p. 265 ; cf. *Epist. ad Anastasium Thessalon. p. 441.* ‘Ο δὲ τοιοῦτος, says Synesius, εἴ τε λευίτης ἐστὶν, εἴ τε πρεσβύτερος, εἴ τε ἐπίσκοπος παρ’ ἡμῶν . . . κ.τ.λ. *Adv. Andronicum*, *Epist. lvii. p. 197.*

That the Saint was in these words referring to an ecclesiastical constitution among themselves, with which the kindred hierarchy of the Jewish Church might be appositely paralleled, will now be obvious to all, save only those whose condition does not suffer them to profit by his testimony. For ourselves, we may well be thankful to the good Providence of God, which has preserved, through so many ages, this conspicuous proof of the primitive structure and order of His Church, and of our own communion with it.¹ And as we hear St. Clement reminding the Corinthians how

ed. Petavii. “Ad Subdiaconum pertinet,” says St. Isidore, “calicem et patenam ad altare Christi deferre, et *Levitis* tradere.” *Ep.* S. Isidor. apud Burchard. *Decret.* lib. iii. cap. 1. “Eja vos,” St. Bernard writes, “qui *Levitali ordine* præfulgetis, cantate,” &c. *De Sancto Stephano*, p. 1677. “Ad *Levitas* etiam atque Presbyteros,” Salvian says, “et quod his feralius multo est, etiam ad Episcopos,” &c. *Epist.* ix. *Ad Salonium*, p. 213. And so customary was this language, that even Poets, in their sacred hymns, have been accustomed to use it. Thus Prudentius, in the fourth century,—

“Hic primus e septem viris,
Qui stant ad aram proximi,
Levita sublimis gradu,
Et cæteris præstantior;” &c.

Περὶ Στεφάνων, *Hymn* ii. p. 106, and
Hymn vi. p. 185. Paris. 1687.

Cf. Hugon. a S. Victor. *De Mysteriis Ecclesiæ*, cap. v. ap. Hittorp. tom. i. p. 1345; and Raban. Maur. *De Institut. Clericorum*, lib. i. cap. vii. *De Diaconis*. The Canons of the great Councils abound with similar language. Vide Beveregii *Cod. Can. De Episcopis*, p. 312; and *Pandect. Can.* tom. ii. in *Can. Apost.* ii.

¹ “Illustre antiquissimæ disciplinæ monumentum,” as it is denominated by the venerable President of Magdalen; *Rel. Sac.* tom. ii. p. 378: or, in the words of Bramhall, “as authentic a testimony as can be produced after the Holy Scripture.” *Discourse of the Sabbath*, p. 920.

sharply St. Paul had rebuked their “parties and divisions,” and adding such further censure as this: “*It is shameful, beloved, it is exceedingly shameful, and unworthy of your Christian profession, to hear that the most firm and ancient Church of the Corinthians should by one or two persons be led into a sedition against its priests;*”¹ surely we shall desire, in reviewing God’s mercies upon our own “most ancient Church,” to “*take heed,*” as the same Clement solemnly exhorts, “*that His many blessings be not turned to our condemnation at last.*”²

III. We will consider next the evidence of one who was, like St. Clement, the friend and companion of Apostles, like him a chosen witness of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and who exercised, as did he, the office of a Bishop by Apostolical ordination. “By them,” says St. John Chrysostom, with whose words the Church concludes her morning and evening devotions,—“by them was he ordained to this office, and the hands of the blessed Apostles touched his sacred head.”³ It is “*the blessed* IGNATIUS,” as he is styled by Poly-

¹ Αἰσχρὰ, ἀγαπητοὶ, καὶ λίαν αἰσχρὰ, καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγωγῆς, ἀκούεσθαι, τὴν βεβαιωτάτην καὶ ἀρχαίαν Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν, δι’ ἐν ἣ δύο πρόσωπα, στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. cap. xlvii. Grabe notices with commendation the remark of Dodwell, that ἀρχαία should be rendered by *primordialis* rather than *antiqua*. *Spicileg.* tom. i. p. 256.

² Cap. xxi.

³ S. Chrysost. *In S. Ignat. Encom.* p. 500.

carp,¹ the disciple of St. John, whom we are now to hear.

Widely separated by sea and land from him to whom we have just been listening—Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch; Clement, Bishop of Rome—they were separated, as we shall see presently, in no other respect. Ordained Bishop of Antioch in Syria about A.D. 70, Ignatius occupied that see for a period of about thirty-seven years, with a fame and dignity to which all subsequent ages have witnessed.² It is of the closing scenes only of his life that any account can be given here, and such an account will serve to explain the composition of certain letters written by the Martyr, which are next to be produced.

“Ecclesiastical history,” says a learned modern writer, “has scarcely preserved a more interesting and affecting narrative than that of the journey of Ignatius from Antioch to Rome. In tracing the procession of the martyr to his final triumph, we forget that we are reading of a prisoner who was dragged to his death in chains. He was committed to a guard of ten soldiers, who appear to have treated him with severity;³ and after taking ship at Seleucia, they landed for a time at Smyrna. He

¹ *Epist. ad Philipp.* § 9.

² S. Chrysostom says of him, προέστη τῆς παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίας γενναίως, καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀκριβείας, μεθ’ ὅσης ὁ Χριστὸς βούλεται. *ubi supra.*

³ See his *Epistle to the Romans*, § 5.

had here the gratification of meeting with Polycarp, who was Bishop of that see, and who, like himself, had enjoyed a personal acquaintance with St. John. His arrival also excited a sensation through the whole of Asia Minor. Onesimus Bishop of Ephesus, Polybius Bishop of Tralles, and Demas Bishop of Magnesia, came from their respective cities, with a deputation of their clergy, to visit the venerable martyr; and one particular must not be omitted, which is of the greatest interest in the history of this period, that these persons came to Ignatius, *in the hopes that he would communicate to them some spiritual gift.* Ignatius took the opportunity of writing from Smyrna to the Churches over which these Bishops presided; and his Epistles to the Ephesians, Trallians, and Magnesians, are still extant. Hearing also of some Ephesians who were going to Rome, and who were likely to arrive there more expeditiously than himself, he addressed a letter to the Church in that city. His principal object in writing was to prevent any attempt which the Roman Christians might have made to procure a reprieve from the death which was awaiting him. He expresses himself not only willing, but anxious, to meet the wild beasts in the amphitheatre; and there never perhaps was a more perfect pattern of resignation than that which we find in this letter.

“From Smyrna he proceeded to Troas, where he was met as before by some of the neighbouring

Bishops; and the Bishop of Philadelphia became the bearer of a letter which he wrote to the Christians in that city. He also wrote from the same place to the Church of Smyrna; and the personal regard which he had for Polycarp, the Bishop of that see, will explain why he also wrote to him, and made it his dying request that he would attend to the Church of Antioch. These seven Epistles, which were written by Ignatius from Smyrna and Troas, are still extant, and have been published several times. Next to the writings of the Apostles, they are perhaps the most interesting documents which the Church possesses. They are the writings of a man who was contemporary with the Apostles, and who had certainly received more than the ordinary influence of the Holy Spirit.”¹

And now, without further preface, let us hear a few sentences of this Saint and Martyr. His testimony on the subject of these pages will appear explicit enough to convince all save those whom his judgment will be found to exclude from the Communion of Saints. Thus, then, wrote Ignatius, in the progress of his last journey on earth, while he was yet some way from Rome, where that journey was to end.

“Avoid divisions, as the beginning of evils. Follow the Bishop, all of you, even as Jesus Christ the Father; and the body of Presbyters as the Apostles.”

¹ Burton's *Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the first three Centuries*, vol. ii. pp. 26-28.

Respect the Deacons, as the commandment of God."¹

It is thus that he addresses men in whose ears the words of St. Peter and St. Paul were still echoing. And he continues as follows: "*Let that be esteemed as sure Eucharist which is either under the Bishop, or those to whom he may commit it.*"² None, says he, who had been dwelling with the Apostles whilst they "continued daily in breaking of bread," but the Bishop only, can give authority to administer the sacred Eucharist. Could he be mistaken, who had received that heavenly food at the Apostles' hands?³

"*Where the Bishop is,*"—here he is again addressing the Smyrnæans,—"*there let the body of Believers be; even as where Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church.*"⁴ The faithful must cleave,

¹ Τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε, ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν. Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρί· καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν. *Ad Smyrn.* § 8. The translation used in vol. i. of the *Tracts for the Times* has been employed here.

² Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἥ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἣ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. *Ibid.*

³ And this is a matter pertaining to each man's salvation;—nor do the Saints hesitate to speak of it with the charitable plainness which so awful a subject demands. Τὸ μυστικὸν ποτήριον, says the blessed Athanasius, . . . παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς νομίμως προεστῶσιν εὐρίσκεται . . . τοῦτο μόνον ἐστὶ τῶν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτων· μόνον γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ προπίνειν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, οὐδενός. Administered without *their* authority, it is, says he, "sacrilege, and a profane mockery of the Blood of Christ." *Ad Imperat. Constant. Apol.* tom. i. pp. 731, 2. Cf. S. Cyprian. *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*; and S. Cyril. Alex. *Adv. Anthropomorphitas*, lib. i. tom. vi. p. 380; who refers to Exodus xii., as affording a suitable admonition to Christians.

⁴ Ὃπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ

he says, to the Bishop, as the Church is wedded to Christ: this is his parting advice to those whom he loved; and he adds, "*He that doeth any thing (in the Church) apart from the Bishop, worshippeth the devil.*"¹

And let it be observed here, that this is not the testimony of Ignatius alone, which is conveyed in these words, but that of Polycarp too, also a disciple of St. John, and Martyr. For consider: he is writing to the Church at Smyrna, over which Polycarp presided, who well knew the mind of the Apostles, and to whose flock he dared not, if he would, represent that for truth which they would know to be error. "The Epistles of Ignatius, which he wrote unto us"—that is, one to himself, and one to his flock—"we have sent to you according to your desire," says Polycarp himself, when writing to the Philippians, "which are added to this Epistle: *from which ye may be greatly profited*, for they treat of faith and patience, and of all things which pertain to edification in the Lord."²

Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. *Ibid.* So St. Jerome, arguing against the Luciferians, who refused to allow a Bishop place of repentance, though they received laymen, says that this was impossible and inconsistent, for they must stand or fall *together*: "Nos nobis adversa non facimus; aut Episcopum cum populo recipimus, quem facit Christianum; aut si Episcopum non recipimus, scimus etiam nobis populum rejiciendum." *Adv. Luciferian.* cap. ii. tom. ii. p. 197. So another: "Si Episcopus, Princeps Ecclesiæ, a fide ad hæresim mutatur, tota plebs *ei subjecta* commaculatur"—and must join in his repentance. *Gemma Animæ*, cap. clxx.

¹ Ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τὶ πράσσω, τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει. § 9.

² S. Polycarp. *Epist. ad Philipp.* § 13.

Such was Polycarp's judgment of the Epistles of Ignatius; from which, with this strong confirmation, a few more extracts shall now be made.¹

To the Trallians, whose Bishop, Polybius, had gone to meet him, he writes thus: "Guard against such men (heretics); and guarded ye will be, if ye are not puffed up, nor separated from Jesus Christ our God, *and from the Bishop*, and from the regulations of the Apostles. He that is *within the altar* is pure: that is, he who does ought apart from *Bishop, and Presbytery, and Deacon*, he is not clean in conscience. Not that I know ought of this kind in you; but for the love I bear you, I put you on your guard, *foreseeing the snares of the devil.*"²

Again, to the Magnesians he says: "Your duty likewise is, not to make free with the youthfulness

¹ This Epistle of St. Polycarp was still read publicly in some parts of Asia in the time of St. Jerome (*Catal. Script. Eccles.*); and it has been truly said, that "this single Epistle is as full a testimony for Episcopal supremacy as all those of Ignatius, in that it particularly recommends *them* to the Church of Philippi, and therefore it both proves and approves that Ecclesiastical Order which is everywhere *there* described." Parker, *Church Government*, § 7. p. 93. The genuineness of the Epistle itself has never been questioned, even by those who usually adopt this way of silencing an unfavourable witness. Vide Pearson, *Vindic. Ignat.* pars i. cap. v. p. 65.

² Φυλάττεσθε οὖν τοῖς τοιούτοις· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιουμένοις, καὶ οὖσιν ἀχωρίστοις Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων. Ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν, καθαρὸς ἐστίν· τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνου πράσσειν τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστὶ τῇ συνειδήσει. Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωμεν τοιοῦτόν τι ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ προφυλάσσω ὑμᾶς ὄντας μου ἀγαπητοὺς, προορώμενος τὰς ἐνέδρας τοῦ διαβόλου. *Ad Trall.* § 7, 8.

of your Bishop, but, according to the power of God the Father, to concede to him all homage; *as I am aware the holy Presbyters do.*"¹ These Presbyters then *did*, in that most primitive age, obey their Bishop, as set over them by Divine authority; for he would hardly tell them to their faces that they did, if they did not.

To the Philadelphians he said, with a reference probably to the false teachers of his day: "All that are of God and Jesus Christ, these are with the Bishop Be not deceived, my brethren: *whosoever followeth one that maketh a schism, he inheriteth not the kingdom of God; whosoever walketh by another man's opinion, he consenteth not to the passion of Christ.*"² And once more—for we must now search elsewhere for the judgment of the Primitive Church—"I cried out while I was among you," was his last admonition to the same Church, "I spake with a loud voice, Give heed to the Bishop, to the Presbytery, and the Deacons. Now some suspected that I spake things as knowing beforehand that among them was a spirit of division. *But He is my witness for whom I am in*

¹ Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πρεσβυτέρους. *Ad Magnes.* § 3.

² Ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν . . . Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περιπατεῖ, οὗτος τῷ πάθει οὐ συγκατατίθεται. *Ad Philadelph.* § 3. "Extra evangelica promissa est," St. Hilary says, "quisquis extra fidem eorum est, et impiæ intelligentiæ crimine spem simplicem perdidit." *De Trinitate*, lib. viii. p. 163.

*bonds, that I knew it not from any living man; but the SPIRIT proclaimed, saying, Apart from the Bishop do nothing: keep your body as the temple of God; love unity; avoid divisions; be ye followers of Jesus Christ, even as He is a follower of His Father."*¹ To such words nothing can or ought to be added; unless indeed it be his own saying, "The Lord forgiveth all when they repent, *if in repentance they turn to godly unity and the counsel of the Bishop.*"²

It appears needless to offer, as in the former case, any summary of the testimony just produced. There is no one, we may suppose, who will refuse to confess that, if we have here the very words of Ignatius, the Order of Bishops was appointed by Him for whose Name Ignatius died. There is, however, one particular in the character of his evidence to which, before we quit it, I would again point attention. It is not to the circumstance that the letters of this great Martyr were written in

¹ Ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὧν, ἐλάλουν μεγάλη φωνῇ· Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ διακόνοις. Οἱ δὲ πτέσαντες (pro ὑποπτεύσαντές) με, ὡς προειδότα τὸν μερισμὸν τίνων, λέγειν ταῦτα· μάρτυς δὲ μοι ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔγνων. Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν, λέγων τάδε· Χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιείτε· τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε· τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀγαπάτε· τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε· μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. *Ibid.* § 7. This passage has drawn from a modern writer, whose failing certainly was not on the side of credulity, the remarkable confession, that "it is not improbable that Ignatius had been favoured with some Revelations." Jortin, *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 224.

² Πᾶσιν οὖν μετανοοῦσιν ἀφίει ὁ Κύριος, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνότητα Θεοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. § 8.

chains, and on the eve of a cruel death—a solemn hour, and apt to inspire solemn counsel—nor even to the rare gifts and high sanctity of their author, though it would be natural to allude to these, that I wish to refer. The observation to be made relates to others rather than to himself.

It was remarked just now, that the judgment of Ignatius is, in fact, that of Polycarp; because it would be an absurdity too great for any but sceptics to maintain, that one about to die for his faith would urge extravagant error upon those who had received truth from the same source as himself. I say, Ignatius, the friend of St. Peter, would never have written to Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, “*My soul be security for those who submit to their Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons,*” unless they had *both* believed these three orders to be of divine appointment. We have here, therefore, as was said, the testimony of St. Polycarp conveyed in the words of St. Ignatius. And the same applies to *all* the Bishops and Clergy who came to “visit the venerable Martyr,” as well as to the various Churches to which he addressed his letters. The witnesses are thus indefinitely increased, and they are all—and this is why I notice it—*witnesses for us.*

That the question of Church-Government, then, is settled by the Epistles of Ignatius, is what may be called a *truism*. To the maintainers of the new discipline this was very evident; and so, rather

than resign that human polity, the first introduction of which even its founder, as we shall see hereafter, thought it necessary to excuse with many apologies, they caught at the only remaining device, and denied that these Epistles were genuine.

Now it is plain, from what has been advanced already, that we could very well afford to give up the evidence of this Saint. When all the witnesses from the Apostles downwards, and all ecclesiastical records from the hour of the Church's foundation, deliver the same unvarying testimony, we could spare even more than the scanty writings of which he was the author. But we are not so thankless as to resign even the least of our sacred treasures, much less this precious legacy of one of the earliest of the Martyrs of the Most High. For that St. Ignatius wrote the letters attributed to him happens to have been so profusely attested, that, as a distinguished divine has said, "they who question it might as well have questioned several books of the New Testament itself, which notwithstanding they receive on *lesser* evidence."¹

The remarkable history of these Epistles, and the providential discovery,² by two different persons, of two several manuscripts, in two different countries, written in two separate languages, and

¹ Dodwell, *Separation proved schismatical*, chap. xxiv. § 8. p. 515.

² "Reserved, no doubt," says Bishop Hall, "by a special Providence, for the conviction of the schisms of these last times." *Modest Offer*, &c. p. 431.

yet accurately according with each other and with the citations from Ignatius found in the writers of the first five centuries,¹—these interesting points I shall not stay to notice here in detail. They may be found at length elsewhere.² Nor shall I quote the words of the profound and good men who have written, more or less copiously, on this subject. It is not, as we shall see, necessary to do so.³ The adversaries have gained probably all which they proposed, by the sort of suspicion with which their bold expedient has invested the writings of Ignatius; but their attempt has shared the fate which usually befalls such venturesome policy,—it has failed; and they themselves shall now tell us that the Epistles of Ignatius are genuine.

The number of writers who may thus be cited on this point as witnesses against themselves is so

¹ The English copies were published at Oxford in 1644, and the edition of Voss in 1646. “Majoris quippe operis res est,” says that learned man in reply to Blondel, “scriptum *ab omni ætate antea acta agnitum* falsitatis convincere, quam sibi forsitan persuaserit vir doctissimus cum illud institueret.” Is. Vossii *Epist., Ad Andreæ Rivetum*.

² It is scarcely necessary to refer to the celebrated *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ* of Bishop Pearson; a treatise beyond all praise, and which, I believe, no one has hitherto even attempted to answer.

³ The opinion of Bishop Hall may be found in his *Prim. and Apost. Trad.* vol. vi. p. 246, and *Def. Fid. Nicen.* vol. v. p. 57. ed. Oxon.: and that of Bp. Beveridge, who says, “no fact in all antiquity is more incontestably proved than the genuineness of these Epistles,” in his *Codex Canonum*, p. 311. See also Grabe, *Spicileg.* tom. ii. p. 5; Hammond, *Dissert.* ii. cap. i. § 2, who observes that “it was *necessary* to Blondel and other ‘presbyterian’ writers to put Ignatius out of the way.” Cf. Mede, *Of the Name Altar*, book ii. Works, p. 388.

large, that it even admits of classification into distinct ranks. There are (1) those who candidly and truthfully avow the hidden motive of their friends in rejecting these Epistles; (2) those who indignantly disclaim all sympathy with such unscrupulous assailants; and again (3), those who, keenly discerning that these primitive writings cannot be successfully impugned, accept with assumed alacrity, and then boldly claim them for their own. We will hear a few of each class in this order; and persons who are not familiar with the tactics of the school to which they belong will feel, perhaps, considerable surprise at the very curious illustration which their words will afford of a well-known fact,—that, however skilfully any scheme which is based upon untruth may be devised, it will commonly be deranged by the timidity or incoherence of the very agents to whom its execution has been assigned.

(1.) “The Epistles of Ignatius,” says one of the most eminent and profoundly learned of the Lutheran divines, with an unaccountable but highly honourable frankness, “would never have been called in question, had they not contained what the advocates of Episcopacy knew how to turn to the advantage of their cause.”¹ This is, to say the

¹ Mosheim, *De Rebus Christian. ante Constant.*, quoted by Horsley, *Reply to Priestley*, letter v. p. 33. It may be observed that Priestley and his confederates have always been as anxious as the ‘presbyterians’ to get rid of St. Ignatius, and for the same reason,

least, a remarkable admission; and it might even seem to be conclusive, but that we are very sure those theologians who despise Ignatius will feel as little difficulty in giving up Mosheim. Let us hear another, scarcely less distinguished for learning than he.

The Epistle of Polycarp, in which, as we have seen, the writings of Ignatius are so highly commended, is being reviewed by one of their most erudite authors: he speaks of it as follows:—"In this Epistle, Bishops are not distinguished from Presbyters; *therefore* even some amongst the Presbyterians receive the Epistle of Polycarp as genuine."¹ How accurately did these acute men estimate the critical canons of their brethren! It was not historical evidence, nor weight of authority, nor any other consideration whatsoever, which could induce them to accept an author whose testimony would spoil their inventions; but, on the other hand, let them find one who was either silent, or could be forced to witness for them, and then not all the voices of all past ages shall persuade them to resign him; though these concur in pronouncing him unworthy of credit, or his teaching

viz. that his witness is clear and distinct against their tenets. Their warfare, too, against him seems to have been marked with the same want of truth and honesty. Thus Priestley repeats the common objections, and does not even notice Pearson's answer. Vide Kett's *Bampton Lectures*, note p. 22; and the late Bishop Burgess's *Tracts on the Divinity of Christ*, p. 412.

¹ T. Ittigius, *De Hæres.* § 2. cap. x. p. 187.

be the very opposite to that which they infer from his words.¹

(2.) We may hear next a few of those writers of the same party whose honesty, in this matter at least, has been too strong for their prejudices; and first, the celebrated Theodore Beza.

He is arguing in a certain place against a blasphemer. Private opinions are for the moment laid aside; and forgetting, in his just indignation, that he was the advocate of the Presbyterians, he exclaims, "Not only has this man misinterpreted the sacred word of God, but he has ventured, *with a strange kind of impudence*, to wrest the authority even of the Council of Nice (though he rejects the Athanasian Creed), as well as that of more ancient writers, to wit, *Ignatius*, Tertullian, Irenæus, and Lactantius."² It is thus that men who have bound themselves to support a theory, or to play an assumed part, will always trip at some time or

¹ Thus Calvin was not ashamed to quote Anacletus (*Institut.* cap. viii.) in support of his own theories, though Cardinal Cusa, *De Concord. Cathol.* lib. iii. cap. ii., expressly gives him up; as does Chamier, *De Œcum. Pontif.* lib. x. cap. xiv. p. 352; and Whitgift, *Def. of A. to A.*, p. 327, who resigns him as "unworthy of defense." Again, happening to want authorities against Servetus, he quotes as genuine a work of St. Justin Martyr, which, as Scrivener observes, *Apolog. pro Patr. Eccles.* cap. viii., "he himself must have known to be spurious:" and many such instances might be mentioned. Well, therefore, and moderately, does Whitgift say to Cartwright, "I pray you give me that libertie in recyting Authors that you take to yourselfe, and that no man refuseth when they serve to his purpose." p. 319.

² *In Vita I. Calvini*: and again, in arguing against Selnecker, he accepts and uses the testimony of this Saint. *Ad Selnec. Respons.*

other. Beza's predecessor, Calvin, had indeed once spoken of "the trifles of Ignatius;" but observe how his friends apologise for their impetuous master. "He could not by this expression mean," says Rivetus, "the very writings of Ignatius, but only the spurious interpolations and additions to them;"¹ for if he did, says another Genevan Professor, "Scultetus has *proved* that of the twelve Epistles attributed to Ignatius *seven* are undoubtedly genuine;"² and Vedelius, who confesses many of the strongest passages which his writings contain on the subject of the Bishop's pre-eminence to be genuine, and even shews the propriety of some of them, adds, that, besides these famous divines of Geneva, Jerome Zanchy, Casaubon, Pareus, Junius, and a host of others, both Calvinists and Lutherans, confessed the authority of this Saint. Of such admissions it would be tedious as well as superfluous to set down more; and we may conclude with the strong words of F. Buddeus, who has candidly avowed his own conviction, that "at this time no man skilled in such questions will easily be found who esteems these Epistles as spurious, or as otherwise than genuine:"³ and the same writer elsewhere admits the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters to be so clearly proved by

¹ Apud Vedelii *Apolog. pro Ignat.* cap. iv.

² *Ibid.* Vedelius himself quotes him in other works; vide *De Arcanis Arminianismi*, cap. vii. pp. 61, 62.

³ In Binghami *Antiq. Ecc.* Præfat. p. 11. ed. Grischov.

them, "that it is impossible to be denied or even called in question by any man."¹

(3.) And now, lastly, for those who, admitting them to be genuine, affect to claim them as witnesses in their own favour. Such is Bœhmer, who is not afraid to quote Ignatius in order to prove "that there was not in his time so great a distinction between Bishops and Presbyters!"² Such,

¹ *De Statu Eccles. sub Apost.* cap. vi. § 5. p. 738. Sandius, *De Veteribus Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, p. 38, refers to many other writers—as Gerhard, Eckhard, Calovius, &c.—who quote St. Ignatius; to whom the following may be added. Pet. Martyr, *Defens. Doctrin. Vet. de Euchar.* pars i. p. 442; pars iv. p. 723 (ed. 1559). Chamier, *De Descensu ad Inferos*, lib. v. cap. ix. § 2, 3; in *Corp. Controvers.* tom. ii. p. 166 (ed. 1626); and *De Œcum. Pontif.* lib. x. cap. vi. § 16. J. Wigand, *Arianorum Refutat.* lib. ii. p. 80. Alex. Alesius, *De Trinitate*, § 8. p. 104. The Socinian (with Bœhmer, Chamier, and others,) tried to wrest Ignatius; vide *Valentin. Gentil. Histor.* a Benedicto Aretio, cap. xii. p. 31, Genev. 1567. See also Pannonii *In Trinitatem*, lib. i. p. 3; Hoornbeeck, *Apolog. pro Eccles. Christian. Hodierna non Apostatica*, p. 1; Jablonski *Institut. Hist. Christian.* secul. ii. cap. ii.; *Censur. in Remonstr.* in cap. xxi. p. 275, where the Leyden divines, anxious to reject Patriarchs and Metropolitans, observe that "Ignatius knew only three orders;" Pet. Molinæi *Epist.* iii. p. 180; Weisman, *Histor. Ecclesiast.* sec. ii. tom. i. p. 104, who says, "the genuineness of these Epistles (the 7) is so certain and so firmly demonstrated, that nothing but empty and trifling cavils, and frivolous conjectures unworthy an author of any merit, can hereafter be alleged against them." Isaac Casaubon uses the same language, *Exercitat.* xvi. in *Epist. S. Ignat.* p. 669; and, in a word, the epistles in question have been quoted, with various objects, by nearly all the continental divines of any name or repute.

² Justi Henringii Bœhmeri *Observ. Select.* obs. v.; upon which see the *Animadv.* xxxv. of C. Fimian. The Puritans sometimes quoted this Saint against Episcopacy; see *The Petition of the Prelates briefly examined*, p. 10 (1641); and compare *Thes. Salmur. De Episcopi et Presbyteri Discrimine*, pars ii. pp. 323, 4.

again, was the notorious Cartwright and his school, who, as Bishop Pearson says, "as often as any objection was urged against them out of these writings to which they could offer no reply, denied their genuineness; but whenever they thought they could use any passage to prop up the newly invented presbyterian discipline, they used his authority freely and frequently:"¹ and one of them even argues, that because the presbyterian scheme of "Lay-Elders" is not condemned by Ignatius, it must have been favoured by him!² Such are the Church's adversaries; and they are not mentioned here as if the words of such persons deserved the notice of Catholic Christians, but only with the charitable design of shewing some of our brethren whom they have chosen for their teachers and masters.

And now we may conclude. It was necessary to rescue Ignatius from what some one has called his "second martyrdom;" and we may perhaps expect to hear no more of the *spuriousness* of his Epistles.³ The sum is this. It has been delivered

¹ Pearson, *Vindic. Ignat.* Proœm. cap. iii.

² See Downname, *Defence of Sermon*, book i. ch. xi. p. 231.

³ A single example of the treatment which these celebrated Epistles have received from some of the modern divines may be useful in this place. Dr. Miller, one of the most eminent Presbyterian controversialists in the United States, writing, in the year 1807, a book styled *Letters on the Ministry*, speaks thus of the writings of St. Ignatius: "That even the shorter Epistles of Ignatius are unworthy of confidence as the genuine works of the father whose name they bear, is the opinion of some of the ablest and best

to us upon the authority of Ignatius and Polycarp — friends and disciples of the Apostles of Christ — as well as upon the testimony of large bodies of the Christians of Asia, contemporaries of those holy Martyrs, — that Bishops were appointed by our Lord Jesus Christ to rule over His clergy and people, and that no man can have communion with Him but *through them*: and all which can be said against this, and the concurrent testimony of all Saints during fifteen ages, is, that some few men in these last days think otherwise.

judges of the Protestant world.” Here he was arguing against the Church.

In 1821 he published his *Letters on Unitarianism*, and now St. Ignatius might be useful to him. “The author is aware,” says he, on this occasion, “that the authenticity of the Epistles of Ignatius has been called in question. It is sufficient for his purpose to say, that the great body of learned men consider the smaller Epistles of Ignatius as in the main the real works of the writer whose name they bear.”

Again, in 1832, he publishes an *Essay on the Office of Lay-Elder*. Here he is again attacking the Church, and therefore it is necessary this time “for his purpose” to say, “Intelligent readers are no doubt aware that the genuineness of the Epistles of Ignatius has been called in question by a great majority of the Protestant divines, and is not only really but deeply questionable.”

But once more: in a tract on Presbyterianism, written, as it seems, three or four years later, “sensible without doubt,” says the writer who exposes him, “that the testimony of Ignatius to a matter of fact cannot now be effectually questioned, he exhibits his utmost ingenuity in striving to make him a witness for Presbyterianism!” This curious story is taken from Dr. George Weller’s *Letter in reply to a publication of the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D.* p. 22 (1836); and this versatile critic upon St. Ignatius is described as quite one of the leading Presbyterian teachers. “But these,” as Bp. Bilson said long ago to a writer of this class, “be the brambles and briars of your discipline, which force you to say and unsay with a breath.” *Perpetual Government of the Church*, chap. xiii. p. 288.

IV. Our next authority is ST. JUSTIN MARTYR. Of his qualifications as a witness to catholic truth he seems to have been himself conscious when he says, "I speak no novelties; but, having been a disciple of the Apostles, I deliver such things as I received from them."¹ It is not, however, so much for the sake of the testimony contained in his own writings, that a few words shall now be quoted from them, as because we shall be able to trace a close connexion between this primitive writer and others of a later date, who are presently to be heard; and because it is very important to notice, that all the witnesses from the first are, as it were, *linked together*: they are *all* true or *all* false; which is just the fact we are most anxious to keep prominently in view in the present controversy.²

St. Justin is describing, with the religious reserve always practised in communications with the heathen,³ the method of one portion of Christian worship; and in his description he comes to a part of the Service of which he speaks thus: "Bread is then brought, and a cup of mixed wine and water, to the *President* of the brethren;"⁴—this,

¹ *Ad Diognetum, Epist.* Opp. p. 501. Paris. 1636.

² Εἰ δὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν ὑπατείας ἀρχὴν ἡ πίστις ἔχει, τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες; S. Athanas. *De Synod. Arim. et Seleuc.* tom. i. p. 872.

³ Οὐ χρὴ γὰρ τὰ μυστήρια ἀμύητοις τραγῳδεῖν. Id. *Ad Imperat. Constant. Apol.* p. 731. Or, as Optatus expresses it, "Paganus non potest nosse Christiana secreta." *De Schismat. Donat.* lib. v.

⁴ Ἐπεὶτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος. *Apol.* ii. p. 97.

and one or two statements by which it is followed, is all which shall be noticed here. He proceeds, then, to say, that these elements are “sent to those not present *by the Deacons* ;”¹ and presently he adds, that the oblations which are made are consigned to the charge of this President ; “and *he* ministers them to the orphans and widows, and to those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in necessity, and to such as are in bonds, and to strangers, and supplies the wants of all who are in any kind of need whatsoever.”²

Now, we are not required to prove that the person thus described was, *in some sense*, a ruler of the presbyters and deacons ; because so much the adversaries admit. The word “President”—*πρωτοεστὼς*—here used by St. Justin, is that which was applied from the first to the highest order of the clergy ; and Beza and others contend that this was their “Proto-presbyter,” or “ambulatory” bishop, who ruled for a while,³ and then gave way to one of his brethren, who, in his turn, was succeeded by another, and so on : an assertion which has already

¹ *Ibid.* p. 98.

² p. 99.

³ And to whom the vast powers which their own masters, as Calvin, Beza, and others, were suffered to exercise, compelled them to assign a superiority of jurisdiction, in order to make their own practice square with the ancient order. Thus they say of this imaginary Proto-presbyter, “*Singularem habuit ac præcipuum supra Presbyteros auctoritatem atque potestatem, ejusque munus distinctum fuit a Presbyterali munere atque ordine.*” *Thes. Salmur.* pars ii. *De Episc. et Presb. Discrimine*, p. 322 ; that is to say, they were Bishops, only such Bishops as Calvin, and not as Austin or Cyprian, Becket or Anselm, Andrewes or Wilson.

been noticed, and to which no further answer need be made, unless every wild notion with which men choose to amuse themselves must be deemed to deserve one.¹ It may be added, however, that the office here ascribed to the “President” was — as we learn from the Apostolical Canons, as well as the Canons of divers Councils, and the writings of individual Fathers — discharged from the most remote antiquity exclusively by Bishops.² Who pretends that any mere presbyter was ever charged with the sole control of ecclesiastical charities? On the whole, this is a striking confirmation, so far as it goes, of what has been heard already; and it harmonises, as we shall see, with what is yet to follow. One point only remains to be observed. St. Justin tells the heathen, who seem to have confounded — as some have done in much later times — heretics with Catholics, that he was the author of a work against the various heretical sects of that age.³ It appears that he also wrote an “Interpretation of the Apocalypse;” and he seems

¹ “You have provided a President,” said Bishop Bilson to these men, “to execute your owne pleasures; now let God have one amongst you to execute His.” Chap. xiv. p. 294.

² So that it seems to have been a sort of proverb, “Gloria Episcopi est, pauperum inopiæ providere.” S. Hieron. *Ad Nepotian*. Epist. ii. tom. i. p. 5; and St. Basil says, that the Bishop’s office, as Almoner of the Poor, is concluded from the fact that oblations were laid (Acts v.) at *the Apostles’ feet*. Epist. cccxcii. *Ad Amphilo- chium*, tom. iii. p. 400. It would be endless to refer to the canons of various Councils in which this office is defined. Vide Thomassin. *Vet. et Nov. Discip.* pars i. lib. i. cap. li.

³ Κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰρέσεων. *Apol.* ii. p. 70.

to have written at some length against the heretic Marcion.¹ In these works it may be taken for granted that *his* view of Church-government would be quite plainly expressed; and his view was that of the Apostles. Now Tertullian, who wrote about sixty years later, and whom we are hereafter to hear, refers to these works of St. Justin. He says that his own arguments were derived from them; and that it was his fixed purpose, in every thing relating to matters of faith, to follow Justin, and others—as St. Irenæus—who had written on the same subjects.² But the works of Justin were extant at the date of his writing, and therefore accessible to heretics as well as to himself. Could Tertullian's statements, then, have *differed* from those of St. Justin? Could he contradict St. Justin, and yet persuade his subtle adversaries that he was following his teaching? But Tertullian speaks of Bishops as the supreme rulers of the Church by Apostolical ordination. St. Justin, therefore, whose sentiments he only repeated, becomes, and would be so if every page of his writings had disappeared, a witness on our behalf.

V. A contemporary of St. Justin, PIUS, Bishop

¹ Vide Euseb. *H. E.* lib. iv. cap. xviii.

² “Nec undique dicemur ipsi nobis finxisse materias, quas tot jam viri sanctitate et præstantia insignes, nec solum nostri antecessores, sed ipsorum hæresiarchum contemporales, instructissimis voluminibus et prodiderunt et retulerunt; ut *Justinus* Philosophus et Martyr, ut Miltiades Ecclesiarum sophista, ut Irenæus . . . *quos in omni opere fidei, quemadmodum in isto, optaverim assequi.*” Tertullian. *Adv. Valentinianos*, cap. v. p. 291.

of Rome, may be heard next. He was the ninth in that succession, and appears to have addressed a letter, about A.D. 142, to his brother Apostle Justus, Bishop of Vienne. It contains the following words: "Thou hast been appointed to fill the place of Verus, and invested with the Colobium¹ (or Episcopal robe). See that thou fulfil the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord. *Let the Presbyters and Deacons reverence you*, not as a superior, but as the servant of Christ."² Here, as Bishop Beveridge has remarked on the passage,³ we have an enumeration of the Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons of a certain Church, and their relations; namely, the two last being in subjection to the first, and that only *forty-two years* after the death of St. John.⁴ Nor is this all. Verus, who

¹ "*Colobium* fuit Episcoporum vestis propria." Du Cange. Cf. Macer. *Hiero-Lexicon*, in voc. The learned Meursius describes another habit, the ἀποστολίκιον, as "*habitus Apostolicus, id est, Pontificalis, sive Episcopalis.*" *Glossar. Græco-Barbar.* Opp. tom. iv. p. 199. Polycrates makes mention, in very remarkable terms—vide *Rel. Sac.* tom. i. p. 369, and *Annot.* p. 381—of a pontifical ornament worn by St. John the Apostle; who, says he, "lay in the Lord's bosom, was a Priest, and wore the *Petalum*" (or 'plate of pure gold,' Exod. xxviii. 36); and Epiphanius reports, *Hæres.* 78, that St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, wore the same *Petalum*. It is defined by Du Cange as "*Lamina aurea in capite Summi Pontificis;*" and vide Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 31, and iv. 24.

² "Tu vero apud senatoriam urbem Viennensem, ejus (Veri) loco a fratribus constitutus, et colobio Episcoporum vestitus. Vide ut ministerium quod accepisti in Domino impleas; . . . Presbyteri et Diaconi non ut majorem, sed ut ministrum Christi te observent." Pii *Epist.* iv. *Justo Viennensi*, ap. Severin. *Binii Concil. Gen.* tom. i. p. 85.

³ *Pandect. Can.* tom. ii. in *Can. Apost.* ii.

⁴ Yet these words are quoted by Blondel to prove, that "though

is here spoken of as the predecessor of Justus, and who was the first Bishop of Vienne, was *a disciple of the Apostles*;¹ and Pius was so far from being the first in his own city who had filled the office to which Justus was now elevated, that he could trace his succession through no fewer than eight predecessors to St. Peter and St. Paul. So true it is, that they who would drag the Bishops from their chairs, must begin — if such words may be used — by pulling the Apostles from their thrones.²

he commands the respect of Presbyters and Deacons to their Bishop, yet it is not as to their superior by divine right, but their equal!" "What dealing is here with Antiquity," says Archdeacon Parker, who notices it, "that one good Bishop cannot admonish another to exercise his power with modesty and humility, but these men must presently strip him of it!" *Government of the Church*, § 8. p. 96. Salmasius quotes the passage with the same comment; *Contra Petavium*, cap. iv. p. 275.

¹ Vide Tillemont, *Mémoires*, &c. tome iii. part i. p. 453.

² There are other proofs of about the same date with this, possessing one of its remarkable features, — I mean, its allusion to *a present existing system*. Such is that very early record of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, who was martyred in the reign of M. Aurelius. He is described by the historian as admonishing Pinytus, Bishop of Gnossus, "not to lay the heavy yoke of chastity upon the necks of the brethren as an essential — *μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι* — but to have respect to their infirmities." Apud Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23; upon which it is obvious to ask, What had this Bishop to do with 'imposing a yoke' at all? or how came the brethren to submit to what he imposed? The Epistle in which the admonition occurs is addressed to the whole Church; — would he, then, speak to them in deprecation of an exercise of episcopal power, unless they confessed themselves to be subject to it? or tell them of an imaginary authority which had no real existence? In another Epistle — to the Roman Christians — recommending a certain method of charitable collection, he says, "This method your blessed Bishop Soter observed:" here again notice, that reference is made to a *fact*, of the truth of which there could be no question made.

VI. HEGESIPPUS, who wrote between twenty and thirty years later, and is the most ancient of all uninspired ecclesiastical historians, tells us, that after St. James, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, was martyred, Symeon, his brother, was appointed by unanimous consent to fill his place, as being a kinsman of the Lord. He adds, that that Church retained its virgin purity, and was corrupted by no vain doctrines, till the time of one Thebuthis, who, being unable to procure his own election to the Bishopric, began to introduce certain novel tenets. After this man arose other schismatical teachers, who, as Hegesippus reports, "rent asunder with their adulterous doctrines the Unity of the Church."¹ It is curious that the first schism in this the mother of all Churches should have had such an origin; and we shall see, in the sequel of these pages, that certain adversaries of the Bishops in later ages have been so far like this miserable Thebuthis, as to have despised their Sacred Office only after they had been themselves rejected from it.

The same primitive writer refers elsewhere to that letter of St. Clement which has been so largely cited above; and it is pleasant to learn upon such testimony that it was not ineffectual; for he relates, that "the Church of Corinth (to which it was addressed) continued in the right faith, until the time of *Primus, who was Bishop of that place*;" with whom, he says, he enjoyed familiar intercourse

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22.

when on his voyage to Rome, and with whose flock he sojourned no little time. Arrived at Rome, he took up his abode with Anicetus its Bishop. "After the death of Anicetus,"—these are again his words,—“Soter succeeded, whom in the next place Eleutherus followed; and in every Episcopal Succession, and in every city, the same doctrines were held which were delivered by the Law and the Prophets, and the Lord Himself.”¹

It will be observed that these holy witnesses are unlike the modern teachers, as in almost every other respect, so in this,—that they speak, not from conjecture, but from their own personal knowledge and assurance. It is what they had *heard* and *seen*, and not what they *fancied*, that they report. Their testimony, too, is offered not from one or two places, but from every part of the world. Already we have found Bishops, upon the infallible evidence of men who lived and conversed with them, at Jerusalem and Ephesus, at Antioch and Smyrna, at Corinth and Philippi, at Rome, at Vienne; in Syria, in Greece, in Italy, in Gaul; and this at so early a date that we seem to be standing the while in the very foot-prints of the Apostles, and listening to their very accents. Fresh witnesses are springing up on every side, to guide us along the same track; and others, as we shall

¹ Παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτήρ, μεθ' ὃν Ἐλεύθερος· ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὥς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφήται καὶ ὁ Κύριος. *Ibid.*

see, ready at every moment to take their places. Meanwhile, it is a solemn inquiry in which we are engaged. This is no question of natural philosophy or human policy which we are debating—*agitur de vita et salute*—a mistake in *this* science may be fatal. And therefore it is that we seek from the adversary something more solid than guesses, something more convincing than assertions; we will not be put off with words; *we* deal with *facts*; and we warn all men who take part in this strife to ask for facts in return.¹

VII. POLYCRATES will next instruct us. He was, as we have seen above, the eighth Bishop of Ephesus; and appears to have addressed a synodical letter when in the sixty-fifth year of his age to Victor, the successor of Eleutherus, and thirteenth Bishop of Rome. The subject of this letter was

¹ “Let not the reader be carried away with *vaine shewes*, neither let him believe that their pretended discipline was instituted by the Apostles, untill they be able to shew, as they never will be, that it was *sometime and somewhere* practised within three hundred yeares—say a thousand foure hundred, if you will—after the Apostles. 1. We *prove* that the Apostles had the right of ordaining; that this right was from them derived to their substitutes, as to Timothy in Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, to Mark at Alexandria, to Polycarpus at Smyrna, to Evodius at Antioch, to Linus at Rome, &c. &c. 2. To their *successors*, as to Simon the sonne of Cleophas, the successor of St. James at Jerusalem, &c. 3. That from these substitutes and first successors of the Apostles the same was derived to their successors, which, without all doubt, were the Bishops of the several Churches. 4. And hereunto we adde the general consent of the Fathers and Councils, many of them affirming and confirming, not one—I say, not one—denying the superioritie of Bishops

the much-controverted point of the observance of Easter, with respect to which the tradition of the Asiatic Churches had always varied from that which prevailed throughout the western Patriarchate.¹ Polycrates is defending his own custom against the remonstrances of Victor, and with this object is led to refer to some of the great authorities by whom it had been maintained. Those whom he enumerates are, “St. John, the Priest of the Lord, who died in Ephesus; Polycarp, Bishop and Martyr, who sleeps in Smyrna; Thraseus of Eumenia, also Bishop and Martyr, who reposes in the same Smyrna; Sagaris, Bishop and Martyr, who sleeps in Laodicea; the blessed Papirius, and the eunuch Melito, who lieth in Sardis, expecting the coming of the Lord.”² These all, he says, observed the Paschal Festival on the fourteenth day, according to the evangelical tradition, as well as he himself

in ordaining; the perpetual practice of all true Christian Churches, and not one approved instance to be given to the contrary; But because he shall not carry the matter without *proofes*, this I will offer him,—That if he can bring *any one* pregnant testimonie or example out of the Scriptures, any approved authoritie or example out of the ancient Fathers, Councils, or Histories of the Church, proving that the Presbyters had by and of themselves an ordinarie power or right to ordaine Ministers—I meane Presbyters and Deacons—I will promise to subscribe to his assertion. But if he cannot do this, as I know he cannot, then let him for shame give place to the truth.” Downname, *Defence of Sermon*, book iii. ch. iv. pp. 94, 5, and book iv. ch. i. p. 36.

¹ For an account of the Paschal controversy, and of the Councils held upon the subject at Rome, in Palestine, Pontus, &c. vide Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23, 24.

² *Rel. Sac.* tom. i. p. 370.

and his kinsmen ; “ for,” he adds, in words already quoted, “ seven of my kinsmen have been Bishops, and I am the eighth.”¹ And all this he further confirms by informing Victor, that the numerous Bishops, whom he had summoned at his request, were unanimous in their adoption of the same custom.

Now the nature of the office which was held by this Victor, as well as that of Polycrates himself, is beyond all cavil or dispute. The former, indeed, was so far like some of his successors in the See of Rome, that he did not hesitate to wind up the Paschal controversy by threatening to cut off all the Asiatic Churches from communion with his own ; for which he was rebuked by St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons. At another time he justly excommunicated, by his own authority, one Theodotus, who, to save his life during a persecution, had denied the faith. And these circumstances are not mentioned here in depreciation of Victor,—who, as a prelate of our own Church admits, “ was a godly Bishop and Martyr,”²—but merely in evidence of the vast power which was asserted by the Rulers of the Church so early as the age of Polycrates. This particular Bishop was indeed blamed,

¹ “ In all likelihood he means that they were his predecessors in the same See, and accordingly he mentions only some of them with whom he had conversed, though he was sixty-five years old at the writing of the Epistle.” Dodwell, *One Altar*, chap. ix. § 5. p. 243.

² Whitgift, *Defense of Answers*, p. 510.

but, observe, not for assuming such power, but for the wrong use of it; the power itself was conceded to him, or rather was very remarkably sanctioned and confirmed, by the very criticisms of those holy men who censured its rash exercise. And our question at this point is, did it differ in any degree from that which had been claimed and used by his *predecessors*? Does Irenæus say so in his letter to Victor? Does Polycrates say so? And when the latter refers to his seven “*kinsmen*,” as he calls them, who had been Bishops before him, does he hint that there had been any change in the Episcopal functions since they occupied their thrones? No; what they had been in their day, the Saint himself, in his turn, had now become; and it was to “St. John” himself, to the “Bishops” and “Martyrs” who were asleep in Ephesus, in Smyrna, or in Laodicea, and to the Prelates of his own jurisdiction then present with him,¹ that he was willing to appeal, as “knowing”—to use his own words—“that he did not belie his grey hairs, but had ever ruled his life by the precepts of the Lord Jesus Christ.”

VIII. ST. IRENÆUS, who was first a presbyter of the Church at Lyons, under the venerable Pothinus, and subsequently, on the martyrdom of

¹ Polycrates, as Bishop of Ephesus, was a Metropolitan; accordingly Eusebius says of him, τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπων . . . ἡγείτο Πολυκράτης. *H. E.* v. 24.

Pothinus,¹ raised to the Bishopric of that See,² will now confirm the testimony of his brethren. When it is considered that he was acquainted with Papias, with Aristion, and others who possessed the same opportunities of knowing the mind of the Apostles, it will be admitted that he is a competent witness. But the following passage from a letter written by the Martyr to Florinus, a friend of his youth, will sufficiently attest his claim to be heard, and form the most suitable introduction to the extracts which are next to be offered.

“ I saw you”—these are his words—“ when I was yet a youth, in the lower Asia with Polycarp. I can call to mind what then took place more accurately than more recent events ; for impressions made upon the youthful memory grow up and associate themselves with the very frame and texture of the mind. Well, therefore, could I describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and taught ; his going out and coming in ; the whole tenour of his life ; his personal appearance ; the discourses which he made to the people. *How would he speak of the conversations which he had held with John, and with others who had seen the Lord.*

¹ It was Pothinus who, being asked by the Roman officer on his trial, who was the God of the Christians, replied, “ If thou wert worthy, thou shouldest know”—ἐὰν ᾗς ἄξιός, γνώσῃ,—a noble answer truly to one who possessed the power, which he presently used, of putting him to death. And this is the class of witnesses against whom the modern teachers are arrayed.

² Vide S. Hieron. *Catal. Script. Eccles.* ; Aug. *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*, lib. i. cap. iii. § 7 ; and Euseb. *H. E.* v. 5.

*How did he make mention of their words, and of whatsoever he had heard from them respecting the Lord; both concerning His miracles and His doctrine, which Polycarp received from those who had themselves seen the Word of Life.”*¹

We can with difficulty get ourselves even to compare such a witness as this with the voluble teachers of modern times; nor is it necessary to do so.² Let the wise and sober choose between the testimony of this reverend Saint and Martyr, and the fables of men who would substitute for the Scriptures their own traditions, and for the Church themselves. The great work of Irenæus against the Valentinian and other heretics of his day, from

¹ Εἶδον γὰρ σε, παῖς ὧν ἔτι, ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κ.τ.λ. *Epist. ad Florinum*, ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20; and *Frag. Deperdit. Tract.* ap. Irenæi Opera, p. 464.

² A late commentator upon the writings of this Saint has collected some of his remarkable expressions, which may prepare us to receive attentively whatever he may have written. They are such as the following:—“I have heard from an elder who had heard from those who had seen and been instructed by the Apostles;” “Wherefore the elders, who are disciples of the Apostles, say,” &c.; “As the elders, who saw John, the Lord’s disciple, remember that they heard of him;” “And all the elders who associated with John, the Lord’s disciple, testify that John taught them this; for he remained with them down to the time of Trajan,” &c. *Beaven’s Account of St. Irenæus*, p. 153. With which compare Waterland’s *Judgment of the Primitive Church*, Works, vol. v. pp. 213, 14; who remarks, with the view of shewing “how considerable a person he was,” that “the *charismata*, the miraculous gifts, were common in his days, and he himself a witness of them in many instances.” Accordingly, as Waterland observes, “he lays it down as a rule and a maxim, that truth then went along with the Church, because the Spirit of truth rested upon it; which is the argument St. Paul himself uses to the like purpose.”

which the following passages are taken, was written about seventy years after the death of St. John.¹ It appeals throughout to the Apostolic teaching preserved by tradition, and challenges the adversaries to compare their tenets with it. "It is open to all men in every Church," Irenæus says, "who desire to look upon truth, to behold the tradition of the Apostles, manifestly set forth in every part of the world ;" to behold it, that is, with the eyes of the body : men could *see* the truth then acted out before them ; for, says he, " we are able to enumerate those *who were appointed by the Apostles Bishops in the Churches*, and their successors even down to ourselves, who never taught, nor knew of, such things as are madly dreamed by these men."²

It was, then, to the Episcopal or Apostolical Succession that St. Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, confidently referred the heretic for a refutation of his error ; and when such persons, with the characteristic subtlety of their kind, replied, that the Apostles had communicated to " the perfect" certain peculiar mysteries apart from and beyond their ordinary teaching, the man of God rejoined,

¹ "Inter annum Christi 170 et 174," according to Grabe (ed. Oxon. 1702), *Prolegom.* § 2. Dodwell refers it to an earlier date.

² "Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni ecclesia adest perspicere omnibus qui vera velint videre ; et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur." *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. cap. iii.

“ If this had been so, then specially and chiefly would they have delivered them to those *to whom they committed the very Churches themselves*. For it was their wish that *they* should be eminently perfect and irreproachable in all things, whom also they left to be *their own successors*, handing on to them *their own office of government*, from whose wise and prudent conduct vast benefit would result, but, should they err, the most disastrous calamities.”¹ St. Irenæus certainly had an exalted notion of the Episcopal office and order; and we have reason to be thankful that we can lie down and rise up again without any misgiving in our hearts, as we meditate upon such words of such a witness. He proceeds to say, that since it would be tedious to reckon up “ *the successions in all the Churches,*” it will suffice to “ confound the darkened and vain-glorious teachers of error, by”—what method shall we suppose this Apostolical man suggests?—“ *by reckoning up the chain of Bishops in the single Church of Rome, which Church, by means of that succession, was in possession of the tradition received from the Apostles, and the faith once delivered to the saints.*”²

¹ “ Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes; quibus emendate agentibus fieret magna utilitas, lapsis autem summa calamitas.” *Ibid.*

² “ Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium

“The blessed Apostles, then,” he proceeds, “founding and building up that Church, committed to Linus the episcopal administration. Of this Linus, Paul, in his Epistles to Timothy, makes mention. To him Anacletus succeeded; after whom, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement received the Bishopric. To Clement succeeded Evaristus, and to Evaristus Alexander; and next Sixtus was appointed, the sixth from the Apostles; after whom Telesphorus, next Hyginus, then Pius; after him Anicetus, and, Soter having succeeded to Anicetus, *now, in the twelfth place from the Apostles, Eleutherus holds the Bishopric.* By this order and succession that tradition and that promulgation of the truth which the Church derives from the Apostles *has come down to our times.*”¹

Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem et annunciatam hominibus fidem, *per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos*, indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo vel per sui (sibi?) placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt.” *Ibid.*

¹ “Fundantes igitur et instruantes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam, Lino Episcopatum administrandæ Ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his quæ sunt ad Timotheum epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus; post eum tertio loco ab Apostolis Episcopatum sortitur Clemens . . . Hinc autem Clementi succedit Evaristus, et Evaristo Alexander, ac deinceps sextus ab Apostolis constitutus est Sixtus, et ab hoc Telesphorus . . . ac deinceps Hyginus, post Pius, post quem Anicetus. Cum autem successisset Aniceto Soter, nunc duodecimo loco Episcopatum ab Apostolis habet Eleutherus. Hac ordinatione et successione ea quæ est ab Apostolis in Ecclesia tra-

Such is the test and measure of sound faith proposed by this primitive bishop and martyr: not what each man's undisciplined reason may gather for himself—that is a notion of yesterday—but what has been safely handed down, and securely guarded, by the successors of the Apostles, the Bishops of the Church of Christ.

It may be superfluous, and even tedious, to add more from this writer; yet because of the greatness of his name and authority, one or two passages shall be very briefly noticed, in which, as we may be confidently assured, the mind of the Apostles is declared. He teaches, then, in another place, that the Sacred Scriptures have been preserved free from corruption, suffering “neither loss nor addition,” and duly, and *safely*, and holily expounded, by means of “the successions of Bishops to whom, in each several place, the Apostles delivered the Church.”¹

Again, meek and just as he was, he fears not to say, that “all they who come not together to the Church, partake not of the Holy Spirit, but, by their perverse imaginations and most evil courses, defraud themselves of life; for where the Church is, *there* is the Spirit of God;”²—and what he

ditio et veritatis præconatio pervenit usque ad nos. Et est plenissima hæc ostensio, unam et eandem vivificatricem fidem esse, quæ in Ecclesia ab Apostolis usque nunc sit conservata, et tradita in veritate.” *Ibid.*

¹ Lib. iv. cap. lxiii.: the whole passage deserves the most careful consideration.

² “Spiritus non sunt participes omnes qui non concurrunt ad

meant by "the Church" has been already very plainly shewn.

It was his answer to the heretical teachers, "These are *far more recent than the Bishops* to whom the Apostles delivered the Churches;"¹ and the fact that his arguments from the Episcopal successions were addressed to *heretics*, shews that this was one of the Church's weapons against the enemies of her Lord from the very first.

Elsewhere he declares, that "*All* who sever themselves from this succession *have fallen away from the truth*; and those heretics who offer upon the altar of God strange fire—that is, *novel doctrines*—are consumed, like Nadab and Abihu, by the fires of heaven. Whilst they who lift up themselves against the truth, and encourage others against the Church of God, abide in hell, devoured

Ecclesiam, sed semetipsos fraudant a vita, per sententiam malam et operationem pessimam. Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi est Spiritus Dei." lib. iii. cap. lx. "Ipse est Spiritus Dei," says Augustine, "quem non possunt habere hæretici, *et quicumque se ab Ecclesia præcidunt.*" *In Epist. Joannis*, Tractat. vi. tom. ix. p. 254; and he repeats the same sentiment with yet greater severity of language, *De Symbolo*, *Ad Catechumenos*, lib. iv. cap. xiii. p. 310. Ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ, says St. Athanasius, speaking of "the Faith preserved by the Fathers," ἡ ἐκκλησία τεθεμελίωται, καὶ ὁ ταύτης ἐκπίπτων, οὐτ' ἂν εἴη, οὐτ' ἂν λέγοιτο Χριστιανός. *Ad Serapionem*, tom. i. p. 202. "Christiani esse desierunt," is the strong saying of another witness, "qui Christi nomine amisso, *humana et externa vocabula induerunt*. Sola igitur Catholica Ecclesia est, quæ verum cultum retinet. Hic est fons veritatis; hoc est domicilium fidei; hoc templum Dei: quo si quis non intraverit, vel a quo si quis exiverit, a spe vitæ ac salutis æternæ alienus est." Lactantius, *De Vera Sapientia*, lib. iv. p. 408.

¹ "Omnes enim ii valde posteriores sunt quam Episcopi, quibus Apostoli tradiderunt Ecclesias." lib. v. cap. xx.

by the yawning of the earth, like the company of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. They, too, *who divide and separate the Unity of the Church* receive from God the punishment which was inflicted upon Jeroboam.”¹

Lastly, this famous martyr says, “It is where the gifts of the Lord are deposited that we must set ourselves to learn the truth;”—and where is that place? “Amongst those,” he adds, “with whom is *that Succession of the Church* which proceeds from the Apostles.”²

¹ “Omnes autem (qui absistunt a principali successione) hi deciderunt a veritate. Et hæretici quidem alienum ignem afferentes ad altare Dei, id est alienas doctrinas, a cœlesti igne comburentur, quemadmodum Nadab et Abiud. Qui vero exsurgunt contra veritatem, et alteros adhortantur adversus Ecclesiam Dei, remanent apud inferos, voragine terræ absorpti, quemadmodum qui circa Chore, Dathan, et Abiron. Qui autem scindunt et separant unitatem Ecclesiæ, eandem quam Hieroboam pœnam percipiunt a Deo.” lib. iv. cap. xliii.

² “Ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet veritatem, apud quos est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Ecclesiæ successio.” lib. iv. cap. xlv. And he every where teaches that these “gifts of the Lord” are only to be found in connexion with the Episcopal succession. It is with relation to this point, that one who has paid great attention to the writings of this Apostolical bishop and martyr observes as follows: “According to Irenæus, the different classes of sectaries would be regarded as having neither spiritual life nor the Holy Spirit, except so far as they might be supposed to be in communion with the body governed by elders or bishops descended from the Apostles. If in any way or to any degree they can be supposed to be in communion with them, to that extent they would be thought to have the Holy Ghost, and to be in the way of life, but no further. I am not now discussing whether he was right or wrong; I am merely pointing out the contrariety between *his* views of the Church and those which appear to be most popular at present. I doubt if most Protestants would not pronounce his doctrine to be gross bigotry.” Beaven’s *Account of St. Irenæus*, pp. 79, 80.

Such is the teaching of one who was content, like so many of his brethren, to suffer the sharp agonies of torture, and at length the stroke of martyrdom, in testimony of the faith which he professed. And we may ask, in conclusion, if this man, with all his privileges, his exalted faith, and unflinching obedience, could miss the truth, what likelihood is there that *we* should find it? If to him, the friend and disciple of men who could not but know the mind of Christ,¹ God's gracious promise was broken, why do we yet dream that it will be fulfilled to us? And when, in the decay of the world, men arise, who, to make room for their own inventions, would wipe out from the history of the Church the first fifteen ages of her trials and her victories, as if they were ages only of darkness and error, how is it that we bear even to listen to them, or tolerate and applaud in religion the incoherent extravagances which in the affairs of the world we should instinctively detect and condemn?

IX. ST. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA is the next

¹ This expression may appear strong: I only repeat it after Archbishop Cranmer, who said of the martyr himself—and that in controversy with a Romanist—"he could not be deceived, *for* he was the disciple of Polycarpus," &c. *Answer to Gardiner*, 2d book against Transubstantiation, p. 317 (1551). So another, happening just then to want his testimony, observes, that "he had received truth from Polycarp, as Polycarp from St. John;" adding that "his judgment cannot be called in question rashly, or without the most weighty reasons." F. Buddei *De Stat. Eccles.* cap. v. § 4, pp. 393 and 416. Melancthon speaks still more respectfully of him; *Epist. Ad G. Bucholtzer*, p. 433.

of our holy witnesses. Educated in the famous schools of Alexandria under Pantænus, who appears to have been himself instructed by contemporaries of the Apostles, Clement succeeded, about A.D. 188, to the distinguished office which Pantænus then vacated, and which he had filled ever since the death of St. Mark, the first Bishop of that city.¹ He was a writer in the paschal controversy; and it is worthy of observation, inasmuch as it cannot but affect importantly his character as a witness, that he accounts for the composition of the work which he wrote upon that subject, by saying that he had been compelled by his friends to commit to writing the traditions which he had received orally from the primitive elders. A few words only shall be quoted from him.

In one place he speaks of “the innumerable precepts of Holy Scripture which pertain to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.”² In another, as has been noticed above, he supposes the three orders of the sacred ministry to be ordained types of the celestial hierarchy. What a deep conviction must he have cherished of the divine institution of that

¹ St. Jerome says of Pantænus, “Hujus multi quidem in sanctam scripturam extant commentarii, sed magis viva voce ecclesiis profuit.” *Catal. Script. Eccles.* Of this *viva-voce* instruction Clement was a hearer. Κλήμης μὲν γὰρ, says one, speaking of him, τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις ἐπόμενος πανταχῇ. S. Cyril. *Contra Julian.* lib. vi. tom. vi. p. 205.

² Μυρίαὶ δὲ ὄσαι ὑποθῆκαι εἰς πρόσωπα ἐκλεκτὰ διατείνουσαι ἐγγεγράφεται ταῖς βίβλοις ταῖς ἁγίαις· αἱ μὲν πρεσβυτέροις, αἱ δὲ ἐπισκόποις, αἱ δὲ διακόνους. *Pædagog.* lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 264. Paris. 1641.

threefold order; and how intimately must the same persuasion have leavened all Christians of that primitive age, when it was thus calmly and thoughtfully enunciated from the professor's chair in the most distinguished school of religion of those days!

Elsewhere he speaks of the humility of St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, who, "highly favoured as they were by the Lord, resigned to another the episcopal government of Jerusalem." And again, he records of St. John, that "after the death of the emperor, he came from the island of Patmos to Ephesus, and went about the neighbouring countries *appointing Bishops*, and selecting for the *clergy* such persons as were signified by the Holy Ghost."¹ May we not unhesitatingly affirm that, if they were the only relics of the primitive times preserved to us by the providence of God, these writings of St. Clement would have sufficed to prove that Bishops were of His appointing?

¹ Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρω ἓνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ Πνεύματος σημεινομένων. *Quis Dives salvetur*, ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 23. The same deeply interesting statement is made by the very ancient author of the martyrdom of Timothy referred to above; who reports, that "having returned to the metropolis of Ephesus, in conjunction with seven other bishops he ruled over that city." Ap. Photii *Biblioth.* num. 254. And the circumstance of the blessed Apostle being persuaded by the Bishops of Asia, or of the province of Ephesus, to compose his Gospel, is repeated by many other writers. Vide Hieron. *Catal. Script.*, and Victorin. Petav. *In Apocal.* ap. Grabii *Spicileg.* tom. ii. p. 45.

X. TERTULLIAN, who was born about A.D. 160, and whose famous "Apology for the Christians" was written between the years 198 and 205, bears no less emphatic testimony to the same great truth. It will be remembered that he professed to found his statements upon the authority of St. Justin Martyr;¹ but seeing that his father might have conversed with Apostles, he might very well have claimed to be heard as a witness in his own name only. Before, however, we listen to him in this character, let us hear him for a moment as a controversialist. He is handling in a certain place the familiar argument that Catholic teaching is true, *because it is Catholic*; that what has been believed always, every where, and by all, can only be rejected upon the impious supposition, that God has made no revelation at all. We shall find a new point in this reasoning as managed by his acute mind. "Grant that all have erred," he says; "grant even an Apostle has been so mistaken as to impart his message only to a few; grant that the Holy Spirit has not vouchsafed to lead any Church into the truth, *though for this cause sent by Christ, and for this cause asked of the Father, that He might be a teacher of the truth*; grant that the steward of God, the vicegerent of Christ, has neglected his office, suffering the Churches meanwhile to understand and to believe otherwise than He Himself declared by the Apostles;"—all this, shock-

¹ See Section IV.

ing as it is, he supposes to be granted in the argument, since the new opinions can only upon this monstrous hypothesis be justified—but what then? granted that all Churches, in all ages—to make his argument our own—have thus erred; “is it likely,” he asks, “that so many and so large Churches *should have run by mistake into one belief?*”¹

Let this argument be applied to our immediate subject. Grant (what the introduction of a new discipline pre-supposes) that the ancient regimen was needless or corrupt; grant that Bishops are no divine order, their office human, and their authority usurped—what then? Why, we must believe that, in every Church throughout the world, and that within forty years of the Apostles’ times, men dared to set up a new government of their own devising; that in every Church there was one presbyter arrogant enough to assume power, which all the others were weak enough to allow him; and this not only at Rome, but in Jerusalem, at Antioch, Ephesus, Smyrna, Corinth, Philippi, Vienne, Lyons, Carthage, Alexandria; in Europe, in Asia, in Africa; in a word, wherever the Gospel of Christ had reached;—and we must not doubt, that a revolution which we perceive to have been morally impossible even in a single province, was accomplished with precisely the same results, by the agency of the same means, and under the

¹ “. . . Ecquid verisimile est, ut tot ac tantæ in unam fidem erraverint?” *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, cap. xxviii.

same mysterious secrecy and silence, in every land throughout Christendom !¹

Tertullian continues thus : “ Different courses have different issues ; the teaching of the Churches must then (supposing it human) have *varied* in its form ; but what we find the same throughout a multitude *is not a mistake, but a Tradition*. Let a man then be bold, and say, that *they erred who first delivered it !* Truth,” he continues, in righteous mockery, “ awaited her release by some Marcionites and Valentinians !” or, as we may say, was

¹ It seems, indeed, to be the common lot of those who reject truth, to accept some monstrous and incredible fable in its stead ; and here we have an instance of it. For, as it has been acutely observed, “ the ages in which Primitive Episcopacy is pretended to have been transformed into Diocesan abounded with learning and writers, and a great many of their books have been preserved, but not the least hint of this fundamental alteration of Church-Government ! What ! so just an offence given by the Church, and no secretary, no schismatic, to reproach her ? Those who were so minute and trifling in their cavils, could they overlook so obvious a topic as this of Diocesan innovation ? Nay, these very sects, where their numbers made them capable, lived themselves under the Diocesan way ! If, then, in times of so much division, contention, and dispute, such a change as this could be introduced without any opposition, and all parties of different opinions and interests conformed to it ; for my part I cannot see how it can be denied that it was done *by miracle*. For what greater miracle can we well imagine, than that so many sorts of Christians, divided by principles and mutual aversions, should conspire to receive this pretended alteration of Episcopacy ? So that those who deny it to be Primitive, must allow it a higher title, since *Miracle* carries with it much greater authority than *Prescription*.” Maurice’s *Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy*, p. 4. Saravia makes the same observation ; “ *Miraculum certe maximum esset, in hac una re potuisse consentire, et simul tanto consensu et tam universali traditionem Apostolici regiminis mutare.*” *De Divers. Grad. Minist. Evang.* cap. xxi.

first revealed to some Presbyterians and Socinians :
 “meanwhile the Gospel was preached amiss ; so many thousands were baptised amiss ; so many miracles, so many spiritual gifts wrought amiss ; so many priesthoods, so many ministries discharged amiss ; finally, so many martyrdoms (the common lot of bishops) crowned amiss.”¹

Having noticed that all heretics affect to appeal to Holy Scripture, and observed that a false interpretation vitiates truth as much as a false text,² Tertullian goes on to propose a method by which opposite and conflicting senses may be tested. “See,” he says, “whether either of them can be traced back to the times of the Apostles ;” and “if there be any heresies claiming *Apostolical* antiquity,”—then comes the test—“let them give account of the *first beginning* of their Churches ; *let them unfold the line of their Bishops, so running down by successions from the beginning, that their*

¹ “Nullis inter multos eventus unus est exitus ; variasse debuerant ordine doctrinæ ecclesiarum : cæterum quod apud multos unum invenitur, non est erratum sed traditum. Audeat ergo aliquis dicere illos errasse, qui tradiderunt. Aliquos Marcionitas et Valentinianos liberanda veritas expectabat : interea perperam evangelizabatur, perperam credebatur, tot millia millium perperam tincta, tot opera fidei perperam administrata, tot virtutes, tot charismata perperam operata, tot sacerdotia, tot ministeria perperam functa ; tot denique martyria perperam coronata.” cap. xxviii. xxix.

² So Clement of Alexandria, admitting that heretics make their appeal to Scripture, says, Yes, but how ? ἐκλεγόμενοι τὰ ἀμφιβόλως εἰρημένα, εἰς τὰς ἰδίας μετὰγουσι δόξας, and, as he adds, “forcing the naked word to convey the meaning which they are resolved it shall bear.” *Stromat.* lib. vii. pp. 757, 8.

first Bishop may have had for his authority and predecessor some one of the Apostles, or such Apostolic men as continued to hold with the Apostles." This is the way, it seems, that Christian teachers reasoned in the time of one who was born only sixty years after St. John died. Apostolical truth, they thought, must be tested by the Apostolical Succession. "For in this manner," he goes on, "the Apostolical Churches deduce *their* lines; as the Church of the Smyrnæans produces Polycarp, appointed by John; as that of the Romans, Clement, in like manner ordained by Peter; and as the others, in like manner, point to those *who were appointed as Bishops by the Apostles*, to deliver down for them the Apostolic seed."¹

Now every one will observe here—and it is very important to do so—that Tertullian is not *proving* that this appeal to the Apostolical or Episcopal Succession was customary with the primitive Christians, but reasoning from it as an *admitted fact*, and that in a controversial writing, when a

¹ "Cæterum si quæ audent intersere se ætati apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab Apostolis traditæ, quia sub Apostolis fuerunt, possumus dicere; Edant ergo origines Ecclesiarum suarum; evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert; sicut Romanorum, Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem; perinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos ab Apostolis in episcopatum constitutos, apostolici seminis traduces habeant." cap. xxxii.

false or inaccurate premise would have been fatal as well as foolish. And the early heretics were so far from denying the effectiveness of this famous weapon as wielded by our fathers in the Church, that they even attempted to learn its use, and employ it in their own defence. They, too, learned to boast of a scheme of doctrine derived *by succession*.¹ And when the Catholic doctors and bishops

¹ Thus St. Jerome introduces the Luciferians as consenting to the appeal to universal consent; *Adv. Luciferian.* cap. iv. tom. ii. p. 198. The Arian, too, professed to found his faith on *Episcopal* consent, evidently borrowing the Catholic doctrine. “Si fidem meam postules,” said Maximin, in reply to St. Austin, “ego illam teneo fidem quæ Arimini a trecentis et triginta *Episcopis*, non solum exposita, sed etiam subscriptionibus firmata est.” Aug. *Contra Maximin.* lib. i. tom. vi. p. 284. So the Marcionites; Ἐξ οὗτου Μαρκίων ἐτελεύτησαν, τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων, μᾶλλον δὲ ψευδεπισκόπων, παρ’ ὑμῖν διαδοχαὶ γεγόνασι, κ.τ.λ. Orig. *Dial. Contra Marcionistas*, § 1. So Ptolemæus, a heretic of the 2d century, affected to derive his opinions from the “Apostolical tradition preserved by succession,”—τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως, ἣν ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ ἡμεῖς παρειλήφαμεν. Ap. Epiphaniï *Hæres.* xxxiii. p. 222. And so universal was this readiness on the part of heretics to adopt the Catholic way of reasoning, that, as the Poet says,

“Even Arius and Pelagius durst provoke
To what the centuries preceding spoke.”

Dryden, *Religio Laici*, vol. x. p. 47.

There is a curious passage in the *Stromata* of Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. vii. p. 764, which shews (1) that the early heretics affected to trace their traditions, by a succession of their own teachers, to the Apostles; and (2) that the *true* succession was thought a valid refutation of them. He instances the followers of Basilides, who “boasted” that they reached St. Peter through certain persons who professed to have been acquainted with *Theodades*, a friend of St. Paul. Evidently these men saw that the Episcopal Succession, which could not be denied, must be met by a counter-succession, if it was to be met at all. And how were they answered? “This will not serve you,” said Clement to others, who pretended that they fol-

turned against them the sharp edge of this sword of truth, it was not as an unfair or unlawful weapon that they shrank from it, but because the feeble imitations which they had framed to resist it were unequal to the encounter. The blasphemer of old did not *deny* the Apostolical Succession; he confessed it; he tried to meet it; and he was overcome by it.

It might be useful to speak more at length of this holy doctrine, which in the primitive Church found such reverent acceptance. But as it would carry us beyond our limits to illustrate fully the mode in which it was urged by all her great teachers, one only shall be cited by way of example, and his words confirmed by such other references as may suffice in this place. St. Austin, who has been commonly described, by such as were qualified to speak of him, as one of the most gifted of his race,¹ and who lived in times when the growth of heresy gave ample scope to the exercise of his vast powers, is the writer whom it is natural to choose with this object. A rapid and superficial survey of his controversial works is all which can be attempted here; yet such a glance will prove, I think, that the doctrine in question was, in the

lowed some private teaching of St. Matthew; "for as the *teaching* of all the Apostles was one, so is the *tradition* one also:" μία γὰρ ἡ πάντων γέγονε τῶν ἀποστόλων ὥσπερ διδασκαλία, οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἡ παράδοσις. *Ibid.* p. 765.

¹ Vide Prosper. *De Vita Contempt.* lib. iii., and *Epist. ad Augustin.*

judgment and practice of the early Church, nothing less than *fundamental*.

1. St. Austin speaks, then, of men being “severed from the root of Christian Communion, which, through the chairs of the Apostles, *and the successions of the Bishops*, is, by an orderly course of propagation, diffused throughout the world.”¹

2. He tells the Donatists that the Canon of Scripture has been “*preserved* by the order and *succession* of ecclesiastical use.”²

¹ “Videte certe multos præcisos a radice Christianæ societatis, quæ per sedes Apostolorum, *et successiones Episcoporum*, certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur.” *Epist. xlii., Ad Madaurenses*, tom. ii. p. 57. Paris. 1586.

² “. . . tot linguarum literis, et ordine et successione celebrationis ecclesiasticæ custoditur.” *Contra Donat. et Rogat. Ep. xlviii.* p. 70;—the very argument which Calvin, when he had nothing to lose by it, urges with much point and emphasis. “Porro quam plurimum,” he says, “nos movere debeat *talis convenientia* tam diversorum animorum, *et rebus omnibus alioqui inter se dissidentium*, quando eam non nisi cœlesti numine conciliatam apparet,” &c. *Institut.* i. 8, 12. Surely this is as forcible reasoning in defence of the primitive Discipline as the primitive Doctrine? as good against Calvin as against Servetus? Let a man read the arguments of the Polish Socinians, and they will be found to coincide exactly with those of the Presbyterians, and therefore to demand the same reply. “In the primitive Apostolic age,” says Wissowatius, *Narrat. Compend.*, “the Church was pure and incorrupt, till the accession of the philosophers, and chiefly the Platonists, brought in those errors which are now maintained.” This dark night—*nox ista atra*—he says, during which the Catholic Religion was maintained throughout the world, at length was illuminated by the dawn of a brilliant day. This dawn is represented by “Luther, Zuingle, and Calvin,” whose bright coming “*deinceps solis reducis clariores radii sequebantur*,” and these “brighter rays” are of course the Socinian doctors. Christianity was corrupted, therefore, according to the teaching of these heretics, exactly as primitive Episcopacy was according to that of the Presbyterians. Is it not obvious, then, that

3. He enumerates, one by one, the Bishops of Rome through *thirty-eight* successions — that is, from St. Peter down to Anastasius, who occupied that see at the date of his writing—in order to prove that Catholics were founded upon that Rock of which Christ spake to St. Peter: here again he is refuting the Donatist.¹

4. He tells a Manichæan, that “the *succession* of Bishops from St. Peter down to his own day, in an unbroken line,” was argument enough to make and keep him a Catholic.²

5. Against the heretic Faustus he says: “The authority of our (sacred) Books, confirmed by the consent of so many nations, *by the successions of Apostles, Bishops, and Councils*, is opposed to you.”³

6. “If I refer to St. Matthew,” he says to the same person, “you will tell me, that that nar-

each heresy must be disproved by the *same* evidence? And has not each—as Calvin, in another matter, argues after Augustine—the “consent of the whole world” against it?

¹ *De Donatist. Dissidio*, Ep. clxv. pp. 286, 7. The uncertain author against Marcion had long before traced the same succession through eleven places to Anicetus;

“ Pio suscepit Anicetus ordine sortem,

Sub quo Marcion hic veniens, nova Pontica pestis,” &c.

Pseudo-Tertull. *inter Opp.* p. 803. ed. Rigaltii.

² “ . . . ab ipsa sede Petri Apostoli usque ad præsentem episcopatum successio sacerdotum,” &c. *Contra Epistolam Manichæi*, cap. iv. tom. vi. p. 46; cf. *De Utilitate Credendi*, cap. xvii. p. 45.

³ “Nostorum porro librorum auctoritas, tot gentium consensione, per successiones Apostolorum, Episcoporum, Conciliorumque roborata, vobis adversa est.” *Contra Faustum Manichæum*, lib. xiii. cap. v. p. 118.

rative, which the universal Church, *continued all along by a certain succession from the chairs of the Apostles down to the existing Bishops*, proclaims to be his," &c.; and again, (7) "which is recommended *by the most evident successions* from the times of the Apostles to our own;" and again, (8) "If you desire to follow that authority of the Scriptures which is esteemed before all, follow that which has come down *guarded*, sanctioned, and explained throughout the universe, from the times of the presence of Christ Himself even to our own, by the agency of the Apostles, *and the manifest successions of the Bishops from their chairs.*"¹

9. He examines and rejects spurious Scriptures by the same test which recognises the genuine. "If they had been truly theirs,"—he says of the apocryphal scriptures attributed to St. Andrew and St. John,—"then would they have been acknowledged by that Church which, *through the most unfailing successions of the Bishops*, abides constant to our own and to ages yet to come."²

10. Against Petilian he says: Granted that all

¹ " . . . continuo dices illam narrationem non esse Matthæi, quam Matthæi esse dicit universa Ecclesia, ab apostolicis sedibus usque ad præsentis Episcopos certa successione perducta." *Ibid.* lib. xxviii. cap. ii. p. 193; cf. lib. xxxii. cap. xix. p. 202, and lib. xxxiii. cap. vi. pp. 204, 5.

² "Quæ si illorum essent, recepta essent ab Ecclesia, quæ ab illorum (Apostolorum) temporibus per Episcoporum successiones certissimas, usque ad nostra et deinceps tempora perseverat." *Contra Adv. Leg. et Prophet.* lib. i. cap. xx. p. 251; and *Psal. contra Partem Donati*, tom. vii. p. 5.

men now were unworthy to be followed, still “ what has the chair of the Roman Church, in which Peter once sat and now Anastasius, done to you? — or that of the Church of Jerusalem, which James formerly occupied and at this time John? *with whom* we are by catholic unity bound together; but ye,”¹ &c.

11. Lastly — to give but a single instance of his expositions of Holy Scripture — the same Succession was, in his judgment, nothing less than the fulfilment of Prophecy, and a manifest token of the Divine Presence.²

Now, it is plain enough from these citations —

¹ “ . . . Cathedra tibi quid fecit Ecclesiæ Romanæ, in qua Petrus sedit, et in qua hodie Anastasius sedet; vel Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ, in qua Jacobus sedit, et in qua hodie Joannes sedet; quibus nos in catholica unitate connectimur, et a quibus vos nefario furore separastis?” *Contra Literas Petiliani*, lib. ii. cap. li. tom. vii. p. 108.

² *In Psal. xlv. Enarrat. t. viii. p. 169.* “ Non ad Aaron,” says he upon another Scripture, “ quia jam summus sacerdos erat, sed ad Eleazarum voluit loqui Deus, qui *ei succedere* debebat. Hoc ergo modo voluit per Eleazarum Deus non sacerdotium quod jam erat in Aaron, sed *successionis sacerdotalis progeniem* commendare.” *Quæst. super Num. xxx. tom. iv. p. 105; cf. Tractat. i. tom. ix. p. 3.* This, too, may be confirmed by express declarations of religionists not in communion with the Catholic Church. “ Hunc ordinem Sacerdotii figurarunt Sacerdotes et Levitæ, et Ithamar, et Eleazar, et Phinees Sacerdos, et Zacharias. Habitavit Excelsus super montem Sinai, et descendit manus ejus in Mosem, et Moses posuit eam super Aaron, et deducta est usque ad Joannem. Joannes dedit eam Domino nostro, Dominus noster dedit eam Apostolis, et illi per creaturas omnibus ordinibus Sacerdotii. Hunc Sacerdotii gradum constituerunt nobis sancti Apostoli, et hodie in medio Ecclesiæ per manus Patris nostri perficitur.” *Vide Syrorum Maronitarum Ordinat., ap. Morini De Sac. Ordin. pars ii. p. 337.*

without going further—that it was not mere private opinions, nor “secondary” doctrines, but the essential verities of the Catholic Religion which this famous doctor was accustomed to defend by an appeal to the Apostolical Succession. And it is plain, moreover, that his argument was, in his own day, admitted to be a good one—admitted to be so, that is, by the adversaries themselves; for of course it is unnecessary to say that the Church deemed it so. And in order to appreciate adequately the importance of this fact, we need not claim for St. Austin the great gifts, either moral or intellectual, which the Church in all ages has allowed him; we have only to suppose him a man of common sense,¹ and then to observe, that in one single work against Faustus—one of the most subtle, as it appears, of all his adversaries—he uses this argument from the Apostolical Succession no

¹ “If any man allow not the pillars of the Church in their times the credit of discreet men, to have reason for what they report, yet must he allow Irenæus and Tertullian to be men of common sense, when they allege the succession of Bishops in the Churches of that time—wherein that of Rome is always one—for an evidence of the faith which had been preserved in them ever since the Apostles; the force of the reason lying in that which Calvin hath exceeding well observed, that it was a thing *known* and *received* at the time, that *de facto* the faith which the Churches professed came *by succession* from the Apostles, from which succession the heretics were fain to separate, and make congregations apart, wherein to profess the belief which *themselves* had devised. Be all the world judges now, whether a man in his right senses would *appeal* to the succession of Bishops, if it had been a thing questionable whether any such were or not.” Thorndike, *Primitive Government of Churches*, chap. v. ad finem.

fewer than eight times.¹ Because it is manifest, from one such instance, that the succession of Bishops from the Apostles downwards was *a matter of fact* too notorious for cavil or dispute: I say, this is manifest, for this one reason, that if it could have been denied, the heretics, against whom it was so triumphantly objected, would not have admitted it.

And equally certain it is, that, on this supposition, the great teachers of antiquity would not have ventured to use it. How constantly, and with what solemn earnestness they did so, it would be instructive to shew; but this would require a separate volume, and a few brief references only must be added here. We have seen the *fact*, that the Apostles contemplated and made provision for such a "Succession," asserted by their "fellow-labourer" Clement. We have seen it urged in defence of holy truths by the martyr Irenæus, by Tertullian, and others. It is used by Optatus, who recites the catalogue of the Bishops of Rome from St. Peter down to Siricius, the *thirty-seventh*, whom he calls "his own contemporary;" and who applies it according to the suggestion of Tertullian, saying to his adversary, "If you profess to claim the title of a Church, *give account of the origin of your chair.*"²

¹ And I think more than fifty times in different parts of his works.

² "Vestræ cathedræ vos *originem* reddite, qui vobis vultis sanctam ecclesiam vindicare." *Adv. Parmenian.* lib. ii. p. 48.

Epiphanius, again, enumerates pointedly the succession in the same see; adding, that his accurateness in mentioning every name need not surprise any one, since this succession was *the test of truth*. And his argument is, that all these holy bishops were deceived, if Manichæus were right,—that is, the Episcopal Succession convicted him of error.¹

St. Cyril of Alexandria, replying to the charge of the Apostate Julian,—that the orthodox had corrupted the faith,—refers him to the same Succession, as an ample confutation of his error.²

The great Athanasius says, “*We prove that this belief has come down to us from father to father;*” and then he asks, “Which of our fathers will *you* appeal to?”³

¹ Καὶ μὴ τις θαυμάσῃ, ὅτι ἕκαστα οὕτως ἀκριβῶς διήλθομεν· διὰ γὰρ τούτων αἰὲν τὸ σαφὲς δείκνυται. *Hæres.* xxvii. tom. i. p. 107: cf. *Hæres.* xlii. p. 302; *Hæres.* lv. p. 471; *Hæres.* lxvi. pp. 636, 7; in each of which places the same holy succession is referred to. The argument is thus proposed by another: Ἀρκεῖ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ἡμετέρου λόγου τὸ ἔχειν πατρόθεν ἤκουσαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν παράδοσιν, οἷόν τινα κληρὸν δι’ ἀκολουθίας ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων διὰ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγίων παραπεμφθέντα. S. Greg. Nyssen. *Contra Eunomium*, lib. iii. tom. ii. p. 554. ed. Paris. 1638. “*Ordinati enim ab his sumus,*” says Hilary, by a strong figure, “*et eorum sumus successores.*” *Contra Arianos*, p. 395.

² *Contra Julianum*, lib. x. tom. vi. p. 327.

³ *Syn. Nicen. contra Arian. Decret.* tom. i. p. 277. His use of this argument in defence of the most solemn doctrines—as the Incarnation—is almost as frequent as St. Austin’s. Vide *Syn. Nicen. Decret.* p. 251; *Ad Serapionem*, p. 207; *De Sentent. Dionysii contra Arianos*, p. 550; *Ad Epictetum Episc.* p. 582; and in the same letter very emphatically at p. 584; and *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*, p. 594; and *De Incarnatione Christi*, pp. 614, 15, 16; and *Ad Imperat. Constant. Apol.* p. 753: and these are but a few examples out of many.

St. Cyprian connects the same Succession with the solemn doctrines of Christian unity and the vicarious remission of sins.¹

St. Jerome declares that it may be traced throughout the Christian world, and speaks of “Stephen, who was the *twenty-sixth* Bishop of Rome *from the blessed Peter*.”² St. Basil, that “to be severed from that Succession, is to be cut off from the one channel of grace.”³ St. John Chrysostom, that it is not only essential to be united to

S. Gregory Nazianzen says of S. Athanasius himself, that he was raised to the throne of Mark—ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκου θρόνον ἀνάγεται—not by force and violence, but after the apostolical and spiritual mode—ἀποστολικῶς τε καὶ πνευματικῶς—and this, he adds, is the *true succession*; and whosoever is thus elected, ἀλήθειαν ἔχει διαδοχῆς. *Orat.* xxi. tom. i. p. 377.

¹ *Epist.* xlii. *Ad Cornelium*, p. 57. “Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum,” writes one who knew his sentiments well, “Apostolis data est et Ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt.” Firmiliani *Ad Cyprian.* *Epist.* lxxv. p. 148. It is needless to give examples in this case, when they may be found at almost every other page.

² *Ad Evagrium*, *Epist.* lxxxv. tom. ii. p. 311. ed. Antverp. 1579. Cf. *Ad Heliodor.* *Epist.* i. tom. i. p. 2; *Adv. Luciferian.* cap. viii. p. 203; where he says, having referred to the succession of Bishops at Rome, “Quid facimus? ita et nobis majores nostri, et illis sui tradidere majores.” Elsewhere he speaks of the Apostles’ Creed as received by such a tradition; *Ad Pammachium*, *Adv. Error. Joan. Hierosol.* cap. ix. tom. ii. p. 219.

³ *Epist.* *Ad Amphilochem*, tom. iii. p. 21. ed. Paris. 1638. Cf. *Epist.* ccccxii. p. 433, where he speaks of a Deacon who had assumed the style of a Patriarch, οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀκολουθίας δικαίας καὶ εὐσεβείας ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθών,—and this he seems to think it enough to say against him. The Bishops he calls τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμένους ἐπισκόπους, *Ep. ad Chilonem*, p. 5. Θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι is a common phrase with him, e. g. *Epist.* cxciv. p. 211; and he speaks of their ordination being κατὰ βούλησιν Θεοῦ, *Epist.* ccxcii. p. 282. The Catholic doctrine of the Episcopal succession is referred to throughout

that one body in which it is to be found, but that not to occupy one's allotted place in that body is to forfeit the Spirit.¹

And, lastly, Vincent of Lerins asserts, as a truth which may not be denied, that it has been the great safeguard and preservative of religion.²

his great work *De Spiritu Sancto*; and it is very observable that, severe and uncompromising as he was, yet the Saint who could speak so sternly in defence of this essential truth was more meek than most men, and had humbled himself, as the Canonist remarks, εἰς ἐσχάτην ταπείνωσιν: Balsamon. *In Can. i. Ad Amphilocho*. So that one who knew him well commends as a rare conjunction in him τὸ ἐν πραΰτητι σύντονον· πρᾶγμα—as he goes on to observe—οὐκ ἐν πολλοῖς εὕρισκόμενον, οὐδὲ πολλὰ ἔχον τὰ παραδείγματα. S. Greg. Naz. *Orat. vii. Ad Patrem*, tom. i. pp. 144, 5.

¹ . . . ὥστε οὐχ ἐνῶσθαι τῷ σώματι δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον τόπον ἐπέχειν, ὡς ἐὰν ὑπερβῇς, οὐχ ἐνῶσαι, οὐδὲ δέχῃ τὸ πνεῦμα. Homil. xi. *In Ephes.* tom. iii. p. 821. The *succession*, of which we are here speaking, he very solemnly declares to have been ordained by the Holy Ghost: Ἡ γὰρ ἱερωσύνη τελεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τάξιν δὲ ἐπουρανίων ἔχει ταγμάτων, καὶ μάλα γε εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐκ ἀρχάγγελος, οὐκ ἄλλη τις κτιστὴ δύναμις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ παράκλητος ταύτην διετάξετο τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, καὶ ἔτι μένοντας ἐν σαρκὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔπεισε φαντάζεσθαι διακονίαν. *De Sacerdotio*, lib. iii. tom. vi. p. 15. It is obvious to compare with this the well-known parallel passage of Clemens Alexandrinus quoted above;—see also *Stromat.* lib. vii. p. 757; and lib. i. pp. 274, 5, where the doctrine of the Apostolical succession is very plainly enunciated.

² “ Omnes luce clarius videant, beatorum Apostolorum beata Successio quanta vi, quanto studio, quanta contentione defenderit susceptæ semel religionis integritatem.” *Commonitor.* cap. vi. And so well was the office of the successive generations of Bishops in relation to the maintenance of truth understood in the early ages, that St. Hilary could even use, without reproach, the phrase “Episcopalis doctrina;” *Ad Constantium*, p. 339. So that, in a word, the *succession* was, so to speak, the common test of all doctrine; and it was enough to condemn any dogma that it could be described as παρὰ τὸ κατὰ παράδοσιν καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔθος δῆθεν προφητεύοντα. *Alexandri Epist. ad Originem*, ap. *Reliq. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 75.

Such being the judgment of the ancients, it is needless to shew how this truth has been maintained in later ages. Yet there are amongst moderns two persons—the one esteemed by all men as a profound philosopher, the other a theologian scarcely equalled in acuteness—whose remarkable words it may be permitted, in conclusion, to notice. “That there is a holy succession in the prophets of the New Testament and fathers of the Church, from the time of the Apostles and disciples which saw our Saviour in the flesh, unto the consummation of the work of the ministry,” said Lord Bacon, “I do believe.”¹ And that this Succession was “*the most undeniable and demonstrative proof for the truth of*” Christianity, and “*such as plainly to distinguish it from all foolish legends and impostures whatsoever,*” was the opinion of the celebrated Leslie, and so expressed by him in his famous *Method with the Deists*.

And yet this *Succession*, “prescribed,” as St. Clement relates, by the Apostles, and hallowed, as the Scriptures shew, by the Lord Himself; the touchstone of error, and safeguard of truth; the shield of the faithful, and the terror of heretics;

¹ *Confession of Faith*; Works, vol. ii. p. 488. The same eminent person once said—though his words are not of course quoted as of any importance in themselves—“This I say, and think *ex animo*, that the discipline of the Church of England by Bishops is the nearest to Apostolical truth.” *Advice to Sir Geo. Villiers*, vol. iii. p. 435: and Lord Burghley seems to have been enabled to make the same confession; Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 119.

which was used from the first against the enemies of Christ—the Arian, the Donatist, and the Manichæan, the apostate, the infidel, and the deist—and was effectual to confound them all; which is proved as an historical fact by a complication of testimony amounting to demonstration, and assumed or acted upon as a first principle in all our affairs, both public and private, social, judicial, and political; which is accounted by all Saints as one of the infallible proofs of the truth of our religion, confidently asserted as such in all ages, and confessed even by heresiarchs, ancient as well as modern, to be beyond their skill either to deny or gainsay,¹—

¹ With Calvin this “succession” was a thing of such moment, that he sought, by the plea of hard necessity, to excuse the want of it; and could say, “Optandum esset, ut valeret continua successio, ut functio ipsa quasi per manus traderetur.” *Epist. cxc. Regi Poloniæ*, p. 351. ed. Bezæ. Beza makes the same admission, only with far more emphasis; expressly commending the use which the holy Fathers made of this succession against the enemies of the Church. “Nonnulli tertiam notam addunt,” said he, in reply to the Cardinal of Lorraine; “nempe, successionem ordinariam a tempore Apostolorum. Ad quod respondemus, *hujusmodi successionem maxime esse æstimandam*, dummodo recte consideretur et applicetur:” and what was his notion of this right application?—“*quemadmodum ea contra hæreticos sæpe sunt usi Patres*, sicut apud Tertullianum, Irenæum, et Augustinum est, contra Manichæos et Donatistas.” Vide *Comment. De Statu Relig. sub Carolo IV.* lib. iii. p. 143. “Certainly that succession,” said another distinguished Protestant, “*is a goodly ornament*, if with the succession of persons there may be a succession of doctrine and conformity of virtue.” P. Du Moulin’s *Answer to Cardinal Perron*, book i. ch. xxxii. p. 85. Even Salmasius could speak of the “Christianorum doctrina ab ipsis Apostolis tradita, et per manus a Patribus Ecclesiæ accepta.” *Ad Miltonum Respons.* cap. ii. p. 209. Cf. Claude, *Défense de la Réformation*, 4 partie, ch. ii. p. 330; and J. Casaubon, *Epist. ad Card. Perron*, Ep. cccxvi. p. 380.

this holy and comforting doctrine of our faith, how is it esteemed among us now?—We have lived to hear men—grave men, at least by profession; learned men, if we may judge from their office—jest upon this Succession as a dream, or scoff at it as a fiction of priestcraft. Alas! it is an evil service which such men are willing to perform, a miserable bondage which they are content to endure, while they serve a master who leaves them only liberty enough to mock in his name, and bids them speak against holy things, while he makes his own sport of them behind their backs.—But it is time that we return to the evidence of Tertullian.

One more passage we will hear, in which the truth is said by this primitive witness to be maintained and defended by “that regiment of bishops which,” as Hooker declares on his own and our behalf, “we hold a thing most lawful, divine, and holy in the Church of Christ.”¹

“Come now”—it is Tertullian who speaks—“you that wish to turn this restlessness to profit in the search after salvation; run over the Apostolic Churches, in which *the very chairs of the Apostles* still hold place of honour, in which the very letters they wrote are recited, echoing the voice and imaging the person of each of them. Is Achaia nearest to you? you have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have the Thessalonians. If you can reach Asia, you

¹ *E. P.* book vii. vol. iii. p. 180.

have Ephesus. But if you are in the neighbourhood of Italy, you have Rome. Let us see what this Church has learned, what she has taught ;”¹ and then he goes on to recite the articles of her creed. This, then, I repeat, was the primitive way of reasoning ; this the momentous efficacy of the Apostolical Succession with the first servants of Christ and immediate followers of His Apostles. And we have no reason to suppose that what was received as true in the second century may be lawfully denied because it happened to be spoken against in the sixteenth.

And here I shall close the evidence of Tertullian ; not because it is exhausted, but because it seems needless to add more. Why should we care to know that this Father said, “ The High-Priest, *who is the Bishop*, possesses the right of conferring Baptism, and after him the Presbyters and Deacons ; *but not without the authority of the Bishop* :”²

¹ “ Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ ; percurrere ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsident ; apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia ? habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam ; videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit.” *Ibid.* cap. xxxvi. The translation of Tertullian employed thus far is that in the “ Tracts for the Times,” *Records of the Church*, No. 18.

² “ Dandi quidem habet jus summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi ; non tamen sive Episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem ; quo salvo, salva pax est.” *De Baptismo*, cap. xvii. p. 263.

or that he told the heretic Marcion, who rejected the Revelation of St. John, that his error was exposed by the fact, that “if the order of Bishops were traced to its origin, *it will terminate in John as its author?*”¹ We have already advanced more than sixty years, in the chain of witnesses, beyond the period at which even the most unscrupulous of the modern teachers confess the Bishop’s supreme authority to have been admitted all over the world. We are no longer refuting *them*—it is not necessary; they are willing to perform that task for themselves. For our own comfort, however, and edification, a few additional witnesses may yet be heard.

XI. And this, perhaps, will be the most appropriate place of reference to that ancient collection of ecclesiastical rules, entitled the “*Apostolical Canons*.” Like other monuments of primitive discipline, they have been assailed by those whose novel opinions could not bear the dangerous contrast with antiquity.² It may, however, be enough to say here, that while the judgment of Bellarmine—who assigned the composition of these canons to

¹ “Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsin ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem recens, in Joannem stabit auctorem.” *Adv. Marcionem*, lib. iv. cap. v. p. 505.

² Blondel, in his usual bold off-hand way, refers them to about the year 280; *Apolog. pro Sentent. Hieron.* § 3. p. 157.

Clement, or to the Apostles themselves—has been rejected even by writers of his own Church,¹ they are almost universally admitted to have been received in the second and third centuries, and to represent truly the discipline of the Church in those days.²

The use, indeed, which I intend to make of them in this place does not require any accurate determination of their date. For if it can be proved, which is all that I design in quoting them, that their authority, or at least that of the rules which they enunciate, was admitted and acted upon

¹ Bellarmin. *De Verbo Dei*, lib. i. cap. xx.; cited by Bp. Cosins, *History of the Canon of Scripture*. Cf. Pet. De Marca, *De Concord. Sac. et Imp.* lib. iii. cap. ii. tom. ii. p. 16.

² Mosheim says, "They contain a view of Church-government and discipline received among the Greek and Oriental Christians in the second and third centuries." *Ecc. Hist.* vol. i. ch. ii. § 19. Jablonski, that "they faithfully represent *the form, discipline, and rites of the Primitive Church*." *Institut. Hist. Christian.* secul. i. cap. iv. § 2. Cf. Pfaffii *Histor. Ecclesiast.* secul. i. cap. i. Beveridge shews that they seem to have been admitted by St. Athanasius, *Cod. Canonum*, lib. i. cap. iii. § 2; but Dupin thinks there is an earlier allusion to them in one of St. Cyprian's epistles; see his 2d Dissertation, p. 99; to which may be added the saying of St. Basil, *Epist.* cccxxi. tom. iii. p. 314. Albaspinæus supposes them to have been compiled by some of those "apostolic men" spoken of by Tertulian, and then, in process of time, improperly referred to the Apostles themselves; Albaspinæi *De Vet. Eccles. Rit. Observat.* lib. i. obs. 13. Van Espen shews that they were received by the early Councils amongst the other authoritative canons of the Church; *Juris Ecclesiast. Univ.* tom. ii.; *De Can. Apost.* pars iii. cap. iii. Estius leaves their date uncertain; *Comment.* lib. iv. p. 2. § 26. Walafrius Strabo refers them in general terms "primis temporibus;" *De Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. xviii.

by various classes even of heretics from the very earliest age—so that some even attempted to interpolate them,¹ in order to plead them in their own behalf,—it will not be a question of much moment whether they were formally defined a few years earlier or later. And that the first of these famous canons, to which our attention will be confined, was so esteemed, by the enemies as well as the servants of the Church, is what I am now to shew.

The words of the canon are these: “*Let a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops.*”² It will be important, in the first place, to observe precisely *what* this canon decrees. Does it prescribe that the office and order of Bishops *shall be* established? Far from it—it resolves merely the mode of appointment. It does not say, “Let there be Bishops;” it would have been as wise to say, “Let there be sacraments,” or “Let there be Scriptures:” it only says, “Let Bishops be ordained after such a form.” It takes for granted the order, and enjoins the fashion of its perpetuation. As if it should be decreed now, “Let churches be built on such a plan,” or “Let the altar be constructed after such

¹ Vide Pet. De Marca, *ubi supra*.

² Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν. “Quare prohibitum sit *uni* hoc facere, Innocentius Papa monstrat in Decretalibus, cap. ix.; ne unus Episcopum ordinare præsumat, ne furtim beneficium præstitum videatur.” Pseudo-Alcuin. *De Divinis Officiis*, in cap. “qualiter episcopus ordinetur in Ecc. Rom.” Pope Gregory also assigns a reason for it; vide Bedæ *Histor. Ecc.* lib. i. cap. xxvii.; and Amalarii *De Ecc. Off.* lib. ii. cap. i.

a model;" the church and the altar being, in their original appointment, divine.¹

At what period the ministration of three Bishops was first required in order to the valid ordination of one of their own order, we are not able certainly to determine. It has been suggested that the consecration of St. James of Jerusalem, by St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, is to be regarded as the earliest instance. However this may be, the custom referred to in the first Apostolical Canon seems to have prevailed from the most remote antiquity; and this, as I have said, beyond, as well as within, the fold of the Church Catholic. And it is not so much for the sake of proving this, im-

¹ "Councils do all *presuppose* Bishops," says Hooker; "nor can there any Council be named so ancient, either general, or as much as provincial, sithence the Apostles' own times, but we can shew that Bishops had their authority *before* it and not *from* it." *E. P.* book vii. vol. iii. p. 191. Which fact has of course supplied Catholics with the irresistible argument, that "if Bishops had been superior to Presbyters by human right only, some period would have been *assignable*, later than the Apostolic age, in which the new institution was established." Bellarmin. *De Clericis*, lib. i. cap. xiv. How very different in this respect is the modern claim of the Bishop of Rome. In all the voluminous writings of the first three centuries there is not found a single *argument* in favour of Episcopacy; its origin is everywhere silently assumed. And when, at length, Epiphanius and Augustine speak of the new heresy of 'presbyterianism,' as introduced by Aerius, accustomed as they were to deal with the manifold forms of error, they content themselves with barely noticing this, as being too extravagant and absurd to need refutation. But when the papal supremacy began to be urged, how carefully and elaborately is it defended, how ostentatiously put forth—*e. g.* even by so good a man as Leo the Great—as if men could not venture to *leave it to itself*, but were conscious that it stood upon another foundation than Episcopacy.

portant as the fact is, that the following evidence is now offered, as with the view of establishing a far wider and more extensive proposition, which is based upon it. That proposition is this: that even if the testimony of catholic antiquity upon the subject of these pages were supposed to be withdrawn, there would still be reserved to us an host of competent and independent witnesses; and those witnesses would be the turbulent and implacable enemies of the primitive Church, who, while they spent their lives in blaspheming her doctrines, were so far from venturing to impugn her discipline, that they confessed almost without exception—either by their silence, as in the case of the heathen, or by openly imitating and adopting it, as in that of the heretical sects—that it was that very discipline which was framed by the Apostles at the first foundation of the Church. This, then, using the Apostolical Canons only as a suitable text, I shall now attempt to prove. And with a view to such a measure of clearness as may be consistent with our narrow limits, these new witnesses shall be spoken of under four classes, including all the most bitter and watchful enemies of the Church—the Heathen, the Jew, the Apostate, and the Heretic. I am to shew that the first Apostolical Canon was tacitly acknowledged even by these.

That the two first were accustomed to scrutinise with jealousy the ecclesiastical movements of the early Christians, it is scarcely necessary to prove. So

much might, perhaps, have been taken for granted ; and at all events is sufficiently certain from the “ Acts of the Apostles,” the “ Apologies” of the most primitive Fathers, the rescripts of heathen Emperors, and the writings of historians, both pagan and Christian. I will cite only two authors in evidence.

The first is St. Justin Martyr ; who, anxious, as it seems, to justify “ the sect of the Nazarenes” to a keen-eyed bystander of the Jews, is solicitous to inform him “ that there were some who went indeed by the name of Christians, but who, in truth, were profane and impious sectaries ;”¹ in which remarkable saying the motive of the Saint is too obvious to need comment.

In another place he thinks it necessary to apologise to the *heathen* for the same unworthy heretics, with a particular reference to the followers of Marcion,² who, of course, were only known to them as professing Christians. Why take any pains about the matter at all, unless the heathen watched them ?³

¹ λεγομένους μὲν Χριστιανοὺς, ὄντας δὲ ἀθέους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς αἵρεσιώτας. *Dial. cum Tryphone Judæo*, Opp. p. 306.

² *Apol.* ii. p. 70.

³ The following extract from the historian shews that they not only watched them, but that their scrutiny even led to the adoption of portions of their ecclesiastical system. “ The Emperor (Maximin) was devoted to the worship of the gods, to the study of magic, and to the belief of oracles. The prophets or philosophers, whom he revered as the favourites of heaven, were frequently raised to the government of provinces, and admitted into his most secret councils. They easily convinced him that the Christians had been indebted for their victories to their regular discipline, and that the weakness of polytheism had principally flowed from a want of union and subordination among the ministers of religion. A system of govern-

Not less explicit is the testimony of St. Athanasius, who, speaking of Arian violence and simony, complains that it not only “violated the ecclesiastical canons, but compelled the *heathen* to blaspheme, and to suspect that their appointments were regulated, not by the divine law, but by purchase and patronage;”¹ which is so much to the point, as to render further citations superfluous. This, then, proves the scrutiny,—a scrutiny, let it be observed, which embraced the *discipline* of the Christians, and their observance of the canon law.

Next, as to the sort of arguments used both by Jews and heathen: with these also we are not un-

ment was therefore instituted, *which was evidently copied from the policy of the Church*. In all the great cities of the empire the temples were repaired and beautified by the order of Maximin; and the officiating priests of the various deities were subjected to the authority of a superior pontiff, *destined to oppose the Bishop*, and to promote the cause of paganism. These pontiffs acknowledged, in their turn, the supreme jurisdiction of the metropolitans or high-priests of the province, who acted as the immediate vicegerents of the emperor himself. A white robe was the ensign of their dignity; and these new prelates were carefully selected from the most noble and opulent families.” Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xvi. vol. i. p. 581.

¹ Τοῦτο γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς κανόνας παραλύσει· τὰ δὲ ἔθνη βλασφημεῖν ἀναγκάζει, καὶ ὑπονοεῖν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ θεῖον θεσμόν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐμπορίας καὶ προστασίας αἱ καταστάσεις γίνονται. *Ad Orthodoxos Epist.* tom. i. p. 945. We could hardly doubt, indeed, that they would be acute observers, who were so skilful, or at least so zealous, in defending themselves and their own errors. Vide Zosimi *Histor. Nov.* lib. iv. § 59, pp. 495, 6. ed. Jenæ, 1729: where the senate is described as rejecting the arguments of Theodosius, and complaining of the decay of their own worship, owing to the spread of Christianity; and again, § 33, the false and angry account which he gives of Theodosius.

acquainted. The Epistles of St. Paul contain replies to the first; and the elaborate apologies of Tertullian, Origen, Minucius Felix, Lactantius, and others, have preserved specimens of the last. From these we learn that the reasonings of these men were usually subtle, and directed—which it is very important to notice—against *details* as well as against the System as a whole. Every objection which wilful misapprehension, malignant cunning, and implacable hatred, could suggest, appears to have been freely used.¹ They were unscrupulous, for truth was not their object; restlessly eager to detect errors, for these would prove their own defence; and no way impeded in finding them, for they had abundant opportunity. Yet these skilful, unwearied, and unrelenting enemies were never able to detect, what is asserted by certain moderns, *that the whole Christian sect had, in the grand matter of discipline and government, departed from the laws of their Founder and first teachers!* In all their writings which remain, and in all the diffuse replies of the great Christian advocates, there is not so much as a hint, not one transient allusion, to a change so vast in its character, and so palpable to all beholders. I do not know upon what

¹ And when they could do nothing else, nor make any impression upon the united and immovable phalanx of the Christian host, they cried out in fury—using words which modern sectaries have unconsciously borrowed—“*Eruenda hæc et execranda consensio!*” Minucius Felix, cap. ix. p. 90. ed. Gronov.

principles of evidence it can be denied, that this fact is conclusive against the possibility of its occurrence.

But the argument is by no means exhausted. Neither Jew nor heathen, we see, witnesses against us : let us try next the case of the *Apostate*. Here was one who had been trained, so to speak, in the very camp of the Christians, knew all their whole system, offensive and defensive, and had been familiar from infancy with every weapon of their armory. Here was a fatal witness indeed against any secret wrong, any politic *invention*, if only he had been minded to reveal it. And that he was so, and zealous to make his own advantage of it, is not difficult to prove.

The Emperor Julian, so infamously notorious as *the* apostate, was one of the most crafty and deadly enemies of the Holy Church in any age of her history. Both his will and his power to do her injury were many ways manifested during his guilty career. And, as if to lift him to a higher eminence above his fellows in wickedness, it was by him that the monstrous scheme was first devised, which, by blending together all shades of belief, and crushing into one shapeless mass every conflicting sect of believers, was intended to pave the way for the ruin of Christianity, and the rebuilding the tottering edifice of Paganism. To all the common arts of the enemy, which he freely used, Julian added this master-stroke of

fiendish ingenuity ;¹ yet even this man will witness for us.

“Ye have been so ill fated,” said he tauntingly to our forefathers, “as not even to have continued in the precepts delivered to you by the Apostles ;”² and then he goes on, in words too shocking to be repeated, to malign the orthodox faith in the Son of God. “Ye have not kept the Apostles’ doctrine,” said this man to the Christians ; it was the saying of a blasphemer, but it becomes in the issue only a testimony against later enemies of the same everlasting Church. For consider : if this Julian could charge them with having swerved from the

¹ After stating that Julian caused the heathen temples to be reopened, and the heathen worship renewed, the historian proceeds thus : “Utque dispositionum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum Antistites cum plebe discissa in palatium intromissos monebat, ut civilibus discordiis consopitis quisque, nullo vetante, religioni suæ serviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, *ut dissensiones augente licentia, non timeret unanimantem postea plebem.*” Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. v. p. 301. ed. Valesii. Valesius refers, in his note on the passage, to the saying of St. Austin on this policy of Julian : “Eo modo putans *Christianum nomen posse perire de terris*, si unitati Ecclesiæ, de qua lapsus fuerat, invideret, et sacrilegas dissensiones liberas esse permetteret.” *Epist.* clxvi. And yet this scheme of universal toleration, thus plotted by the apostate for the overthrow of Christianity, is regarded by some amongst ourselves as the very perfection of Christian liberality.

² Οὕτω δὲ ἔστέ δυστυχεῖς, ὥστε οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῖν παραδομένοις ἐμμεμενῆκατε. Vide Cyril. Alex. *Contra Julianum*, lib. x. tom. vi. p. 327. Observe, too, that even this man could appeal to the *Scriptures*, and to the Apostles themselves ; and could say, τὸν Ἰησοῦν οὔτε Παῦλος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν Θεόν, οὔτε Ματθαῖος, οὔτε Λουκᾶς, οὔτε Μάρκος. “Christum confitetur,” says Hilary, “ut neget ; *unitatem procurat, ne pax sit* ; hæreses comprimit, ne Christiani sint ; sacerdotes honorat, ne Episcopi sint ; Ecclesiæ tecta struit, ut fidem destruat.” *Contra Constantium Augustum*, p. 324.

Apostles' *doctrine*, did he not know, who had been baptised and dwelt among them, that they had departed also from the Apostles' *discipline*? and was he so forbearing as not to taunt them with this also? If he had known of any such change, how would he not have rung it in their ears with bitter and malicious scoffing; and if he, that subtle and cruel enemy, had never heard of it, where did our moderns discover it? If this apostate had no suspicion of any purer and ancients discipline from which Christians had fallen away, where do these find any trace of it? Perhaps it is too much to expect that they should ever answer this question.

We have still another class of witnesses, differing from the above in this respect, that whereas their testimony was negative only, that now to be produced is both positive and negative. It is the "motley troop" of heretics who are to furnish their unwilling testimony; alike in this at least, that they are all compelled, by a law which they cannot resist, to pay homage to the Church against which they vainly rebel.¹ We must, however, be brief in our enumeration of them.

We find, then, that all the larger sects—the Manichæans, Macedonians, Arians, and Donatists—as well as many others of less note and scantier numbers, were so far from pretending to alter the external form of the Church, that they all lived

¹ "Uterque hostis Ecclesiæ res Ecclesiæ agit." S. Hilar. Pictav. *De Trinitate*, lib. vii. p. 134.

under the rule of pseudo-bishops. Profane as these separatists were, they still affected to have their Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.¹ And why, but that those sacred orders were then counted in all the world as a part of Christianity; so that while they were able to deceive some by a novel doctrine, they would have gained only derision if they had invited their allegiance to a new constitution? The discipline appointed by Apostles was infallibly known to all men; it was before their eyes;² they or their fathers had lived with Apostles, and knew too well what orders Christ had appointed in His Church for any new scheme to have even a chance of success. To innovate in such a matter was *then* impossible. The very heretics themselves dreamed not of such unprofitable folly; not because of the sin—they cared little for that—but because they would have gained nothing by it: a ‘presbyterian’ or an ‘independent’ in those days would have been taken either for a heathen or a jester; and his jest would have been pointless, as being altogether too clumsy and extravagant. And so the heretics, as

¹ See the eloquent description of their inconstant ordinations in Tertullian, *De Præscript. Hæret.* cap. xli. Χθὲς ἱερόσυλοι, says Nazianzen, in his account of their doings, καὶ σήμερον ἱερεῖς· χθὲς τῶν ἁγίων ἔξω, καὶ μυσταγωγοὶ σήμερον· παλαιοὶ τὴν κακίαν, καὶ σχέδιοι τὴν εὐσέβειαν. *Orat.* xxi. p. 378.

² For the primitive doctors taught, as Cassiodorus says, “non tam suis linguis, quam vestris potius oculis.” *Institut. Divin. Lektion.* Præfat.; and that saying of Jerome can hardly be disputed, “Multo plus intelligitur, quod oculis videtur, quam quod aure percipitur.” *Epist. ad Fabiolam*, tom. vi. p. 366.

we shall see yet further, were as careful to obey the first apostolical canon—"a bishop shall be ordained by two or three bishops," as the Catholics themselves. And thus even these men, aliens and outcasts as they were, become witnesses against the error of our own deceived brethren. A few particular instances shall be added by way of exemplification; and first, of the Arians.

That they retained the three orders, and made much of the Episcopal Succession, is well known; and it can only be supposed that they appropriated these portions of the Catholic system, because it never entered their heads to question them, or because it would have been hopeless to do so. What other account of the matter can we give? Their *animus* was shewn plainly enough; especially when they came, as they did in progress of time, to charge the Nicene Fathers with having *changed* the faith;¹ yet not a hint of their having changed the discipline of the Church. What an advantage to their cause, if they could have invited the people to *return* to a more primitive form! what a weapon against their enemies the Catholics! And yet these misbelievers, who would have turned the earth upside down if they might have overwhelmed the Church in its ruins, never hit upon this obvi-

¹ Vide S. Athanas. *Ad Africanos Episcopos*, Epist. tom. i. p. 937; and his description of Arian tyranny, *Ad solit. vitam agentes*, p. 855. On the co-operation of the Jews with the Arians and other heretics in their warfare against the Church, vide Filesaci *Opp. Select.* tom. i. p. 189; and Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livre xiii. chap. ii.

ous idea of an elder and purer—that is, an Apostolical discipline.

Nor is this all. It would have been a strong fact if they had only tacitly adopted the Church-polity; but they did more; they even contended, after their evil fashion, for its integrity. It was a favourite complaint of theirs against the Catholic party, that these had broken the ecclesiastical canons. Thus Philostorgius, himself a member of the Eunomian sect of Arians, using the popular calumny against the great Athanasius, says, that he was “unlawfully”¹ consecrated Bishop. What did it matter that his ordination was uncanonical, unless Philostorgius, who asserted it, judged the canons to be binding? On the other hand, Athanasius himself, replying to the charge,² boldly and earnestly retorts it upon his adversaries, and exclaims, “Not such as these were the appointments of St. Paul; it was not these which the Fathers delivered to us; this indeed is a new form, and this a novel institution.”³ Here were two great parties

¹ Philostorg. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. ii.

² *Ad Imperat. Constant. Apol.* tom. i. p. 726.

³ Οὐχ οὕτως αἱ Παύλου διατάξεις, οὐχ οὕτως οἱ πατέρες παραδεδώκασιν, ἄλλος τύπος ἐστὶν οὗτος, καὶ καινὸν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. *Ibid.* p. 753. Cf. p. 693; and *Ad solit. vitam agentes*, pp. 817, 844, 852. As an illustration of the *animus* of the Arian party, which is obviously of some importance in this argument, see the story told by Theodoret, *Ecclesiast. Histor.* lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 86. The Arians had desired the Emperor to set apart a church for those in Alexandria who did not communicate with Athanasius. Athanasius proposed in return, that, by the same rule, the persecuted Catholics at Antioch, where the Arians prevailed most, should be allowed a church for their

vehemently debating this very question of ecclesiastical discipline, and each professing to be jealous for its due observance. What shameless and incredible trifling, if they had known that, after all, that discipline was itself only a *corruption* of the primitive government! And if neither the one nor the other, neither the Church nor her enemies, had ever conceived such an idea, how comes it now, in the end of the world, to find acceptance?

The same unconscious testimony to the origin of the threefold Ministry of the Church is yielded, in a very remarkable way, by the Manichæans, Macedonians,¹ Luciferians, Montanists, and other heretics; but most conspicuously and decisively

use. The Arians thereupon requested that *neither* petition should be granted; preferring to lose their own suit at Alexandria, rather than that the orthodox should gain theirs at Antioch. On the state of the Church at this latter place, vide S. Basil. *Epist. ad Athanasium*, tom. iii. p. 76.

¹ For the Macedonians, vide Socratis *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. iii. cap. x. p. 182. The testimony of the Manichæans to the primitive discipline is most convincingly, though tacitly, set forth in the conference between Archelaus, Bishop of Mesopotamia, and the heresiarch Manes, in the year 278. “Appellati sumus ex Salvatoris desiderio Christiani,” says Archelaus, “sicut universus orbis terrarum testimonium perhibet, atque Apostoli edocent; sed et optimus architectus ejus, fundamentum nostrum, id est Ecclesiæ, Paulus posuit, et legem tradidit, *ordinatis Ministris, et Presbyteris, et Episcopis in ea*; describens per loca singula quomodo et qualiter oporteat Ministros Dei, quales et qualiter fieri Presbyteros, qualesque esse debeant qui Episcopatum desiderant; quæ omnia bene nobis et recte disposita, usque in hodiernum statum suum custodiunt, et permanet apud nos regula disciplinæ.” Archelai et Manetis *Disput.*, ap. *Reliq. Sacr.* tom. iv. p. 266. It is impossible to exaggerate the value and importance of this interesting passage, which Dr. Routh calls “locus notandus de Hierarchiæ Ecclesiæ ordine ab Apostolis instituto.”

by those early sects whose objections against the Church were taken on the modern puritan ground: even these never thought of amending the Church discipline, but only how they might best imitate it.¹ The Donatists, the largest and most powerful sect of ancient ‘puritans,’—and whose enmity against Catholics was of the same violent character² as that which has marked their disciples in later times,—are a curious instance indeed in this point; and it would seem, from some observations of Optatus, who wrote against them, that they even paid some peculiar reverence to their bishops, “*swearing by them*,” and exalting their persons in an unseemly manner.³ The ‘puritan’ followers of Audius, who left the Church in disgust at some

¹ And as some of them imitated the whole external system, so did others affect to copy even the ritual observances. Thus Mr. Beaven notices, that they “imitated the form of invocation in the Holy Communion;”—quoting St. Irenæus, who refers to the Gnostic Marcus, ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως. *Account of St. Irenæus*, p. 200.

² Augustine says that “the ravages of the barbarians were milder than the outrages of the Donatist Clergy.” *Epist. cxxii. Ad Victorianum*, tom. ii. p. 240. And the description of their doings—so like are these men in all ages—might serve very often for a history of the presbyterians and others of our own country in the days of the commonwealth. “Ut omnia sacrosancta vestri Episcopi violarent,” says Optatus, “jussi sunt Eucharistiam canibus fundi Ampullam quoque chrismatis per fenestram, ut frangerent, jactaverunt.” *Adv. Parmenian*. lib. ii. p. 55. ed. Albaspinæi.

³ *Adv. Parmenian*. lib. ii. p. 58 and p. 56. He notices that they petitioned Julian for favour and countenance, and adds, as well he might, “Rubescite, si ullus est pudor.” St. Austin, too, notices how they complimented the Apostate, and consented to receive their churches from him. *Contra Lit. Petiliani*, lib. ii. cap. xcii. tom. vii. p. 117.

errors of conduct and discipline, perpetuated their schism by appointing bishops.¹ The followers of Theodotus (Coriarius) excommunicated by Pope Victor, “persuaded one Anatolius to become their bishop.”² The fanatical disciples of one Quintilla, a sect of women, in order that they might annihilate the distinction of the sexes,—ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν,—“elected bishops, presbyters, and the other orders of the clergy! saying, that ‘in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female.’”³ And lastly,—for we must hasten to a conclusion,—the Novatians, who, if any, might have been expected to have chosen new ways for themselves, still adhered to the same form of Church-polity, and that under circumstances so extraordinary as to require a separate notice.

Novatian, the founder of this sect, had begun by opposing himself to the teaching of the Church on a question of penitential discipline; taking umbrage, as is usual with such persons, at the merciful gentleness which was shewn to those who had lapsed under persecution. This was only his first step in disobedience, and at length he went so far as to set himself up as a rival to Cornelius, the then lawful bishop of Rome. The next act of this haughty ‘puritan’ is a very curious chapter in the history of spiritual pride. Procuring, from a remote part of the country, three bishops, who are

¹ Vide S. Epiphan. *Hæres.* lxx. tom. i. p. 827.

² Vide Timothei Constantinop. *De Theodoto Coriario*, ap. J. Meursii *Vir. Div. Lib. Opp.* tom. viii. p. 733.

³ S. Epiphan. *Hæres.* xlix. pp. 418, 19.

described as very simple men—*ἀνθρώπους ἀγροίκους καὶ ἀπλουστάτους*—and causing them to be intoxicated, he compelled them by force to impose their hands upon him, in order to his consecration as a bishop.¹ Now, without dwelling tediously upon this revolting story, let us ask only, what are we to conclude from it? What but that Novatian took all this trouble to obtain canonical ordination from three bishops, because he had no hope of procuring followers without it? and again, that the modern theory of lay, or ‘presbyterian,’ ordination—for the revival of which, supposing it to have slumbered, that had been so favourable a crisis—had not even entered his thoughts! Surely this one act of an adversary of the Church in that early age is enough to condemn all the inventions of her new enemies in this.²

And here I shall close this branch of evidence;

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43. “This champion of the Gospel did not know,” said Cornelius, “that there ought to be *one* Bishop in the Catholic Church.” *Epist. ad Fabian.*; and yet at this time there were in the single church of Rome 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, as many subdeacons, 42 acolytes, exorcists, readers, widows, and, lastly, more than 1500 poor. On the size and extent of the primitive dioceses, which heretical ingenuity has laboured to misrepresent, it is enough to refer to Maurice’s *Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy*; in which this subject is considered in such a satisfactory and conclusive manner as to leave no room for further controversy.

² And proofs of the same character abound in the early annals of schism. I will add only another. One Sabbatius appears to have made a new sect in the Novatian camp, affecting to be indignant that unworthy persons should still be admitted to communion. His friends, shrewdly suspecting his object, and resolved, perhaps, that he should not get before them, make him swear that he will never

from which it appears, that, so far as respects the subject of these pages, the practice of those who “went out” from the Church is an undesigned confirmation of her own holy teaching. If I could have thought of any severer tests by which to assay that teaching, I would have applied them.

XII. There still remain to be heard not a few of the most distinguished doctors of catholic antiquity. Of these, the first in order of time is one who has been styled “the light of all the saints, bishops, and martyrs, the most blessed CYPRIAN.”¹

become a bishop; he does so, and afterwards breaks his oath, and becomes the founder of a new sect. Yet this acute “reformer,” whose very boast it was to revert to a *purser* discipline, had never heard of the presbyterian scheme! Vide Socratis *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. v. cap. xxi. p. 281. Vide also Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi*, Dissert. lx. cap. xvi. tom. v. p. 139; and, for later instances, J. Cantacuzeni *Histor.* lib. iv. cap. v. tom. iii. p. 759. ed. Gretser.

¹ “Quis ille tam demens est, qui illud sanctorum omnium, et episcoporum, et martyrum lumen, beatissimum Cyprianum, cum cæteris collegis suis, in æternum dubitet regnaturum esse cum Christo?” Vincent Lerins. *Commonitor.* cap. vi. “Quid? parva nobis de apostolicis viris, parva primis sacerdotibus, parva de beatissimo Cypriano martyre atque doctore currit auctoritas? *An volumus docere doctorem?*” Pacian. *Epist.* i. *Ad Sympronianum*. And it is thus that they all speak of him. “He was one,” says Augustine, “cujus laudem consequi non valeo, cujus multis literis scripta mea non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore dilector, cujus caritatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror.” *Contra Cresconium*, lib. ii. cap. xxxii. Even heretics used to quote his writings “tanquam firmamenta canonicæ auctoritatis.” Aug. *ubi supra*, tom. vii. p. 177. St. Jerome, giving instructions to a certain person as to what might profitably be read, and having said, “let all apocryphal books be eschewed,” presently adds, “let the works of Cyrian be ever in your hand.” *Ad Lætam*, *Epist.* vii. tom. i. p. 19. Cf. Prudent. *περὶ στεφάνων*, *Hymn.* xiii. p. 298.

Born about the close of the second century, St. Cyprian was consecrated Bishop of Carthage A.D. 248, and martyred A.D. 258. His lot was cast in troublous times, when to be a Christian was not so safe and easy as now. In his day they who believed in the Cross bore it too; and men not only trusted in its strength, as we profess to do, but felt its weight. And this gives force to their testimony. *They* were something more than mere talkers; and when we hearken to their words, we feel that we are in very truth listening to men to whom it was given in their day to be the Lord's chosen witnesses.

It cannot be, then, but that we hear this illustrious martyr with respect, as one "highly favoured" of God; with affection, as hoping one day to see him face to face; with something of awe, considering his present lot; and with serious hearts, lest he should be found to repudiate that fellowship which we would fain enjoy with him and all saints. If to reject the witness of one whom God has appointed to speak in His Name be in any case perilous, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the danger of rejecting it in this.

We may begin by referring to his letter of congratulation written to some who had witnessed for the Name of Christ in a recent persecution. He rejoices in contemplating the probable effect of their fortitude upon his whole flock, but claims for himself a peculiar interest in it. "For while," he

says, "it is meet that the whole brotherhood exult in this, yet greater is *the Bishop's share* in the common joy. For the glory of a Church is *the glory of him who rules it.*"¹

During the persecution here alluded to some had fallen away, and by their weakness in the time of trial had earned the title of "the Lapsed." Their offence was scarcely accomplished when they sought to wipe it out by repentance, and a return to the Church which they had dishonoured. This return was permitted only upon certain conditions; and without exacting these, and even before the persecution was over,—moreover, without any sanction from the Bishop,—some of the presbyters of the Church in Carthage had disobediently and presumptuously admitted these lapsed persons to communion. Their absent Bishop, zealous for the true peace and welfare of these penitents, and indignant at the "rash and impetuous conduct" which was soon developed into open schism, wrote as follows to his clergy at Carthage: "I have long refrained myself, but it becomes me no longer to keep silence. For what danger have we not cause to apprehend from the anger of the Lord, *when certain presbyters, unmindful both of the Gospel and of their own station, regarding neither the future*

¹ "Nam cum gaudere in hoc omnes fratres oporteat, tum in gaudio communi major est Episcopi portio. Ecclesiæ enim gloria Præpositi gloria est." *Epist. vi. Ad Rogatianum*, p. 11. ed. Baluzii. Paris. 1726.

*judgment of the Lord nor the Bishop now set over them, have ventured, in disdain of their Ruler, and with a boldness never attempted under any of our predecessors, to assume to themselves unlimited power?"*¹

The holy Martyr adds, that to have admitted the lapsed to communion "without due penance performed, confession made, and the customary imposition of hands by the Bishop and clergy," was to put them in the condition of those who were "guilty of the Lord's Body and Blood."² His remonstrance, therefore, was in the true spirit of divine charity; and it is important to notice this, lest we should think he was merely vindicating the dignity of his own office.³ He then postpones his final decision "till the Lord should bring him to them again;" and concludes thus: "Meanwhile, should certain rash, impetuous, and self-confident persons among you, who regard not man nor fear

¹ "Diu patientiam meam tenui, . . . sed tacere ultra non oportet. Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini, quando aliqui de presbyteris, nec evangelii nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini iudicium neque nunc sibi præpositum episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vindicent?" *Epist. ix. Ad Clerum*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.* pp. 18, 19.

³ Which the whole tone of this very letter sufficiently contradicts. We find him too elsewhere even pleading for those who had fallen, and defending their claim to absolution. *Epist. lii. Ad Antonianum*; where observe the gentle and charitable distinction which he draws between the *libellatici* and the *sacrificati*, p. 70; and again the tone of meekness and moderation in the *Epist. ad Cornelium*, pp. 87, 88. But it cannot be necessary to enlarge upon that which has been noticed as his peculiar and eminent grace.

God, knowingly persevere yet further in the same conduct, *I shall resort to those admonitions which the Lord commands me to employ.*"¹

The divine authority of the Bishop is here so energetically asserted, that what is yet to follow will appear superfluous. Using the same tone in his next letter, "to the Confessors," he speaks of these presumptuous presbyters as men "who have no respect either to the fear of God *or the honour of the Bishop*;"² and again, writing "to the people," he condemns the same persons as "neither mindful of the Gospel, *nor conceding to the Bishop the honour of his priesthood and chair.*"³

Let us see next whether this assumption of authority was recognised by others. "Although," says Caldonius, writing to St. Cyprian, "they (the lapsed) have in a body sued for peace, professing, We have recovered the faith which we had lost, by the performance of penance and public confession of Christ; although they seem to me to merit the gift of peace, *nevertheless I have remitted them to your judgment, lest I should seem rashly to presume*

¹ "Interim temerarii et incauti et tumidi quidam inter vos, qui hominem non cogitant, vel Deum timeant, scientes quoniam si ultra in iisdem perseveraverint, utar ea admonitione qua me uti Dominus jubet." p. 19. With which compare his calm but uncompromising severity at a later stage of the same miserable proceedings; *Epist.* Iv. *Ad Cornelium*, p. 89; and see 2 Cor. x. 8.

² "Qui nec timorem Dei, nec Episcopi honorem cogitantes," &c. *Epist.* x. p. 20.

³ "Nec evangelii memores, nec Episcopo honorem sacerdotii sui et cathedræ reservantes." *Epist.* xi. *Ad Plebem*, p. 21.

in ought."¹ And again, the "Confessors" of his flock—they who had nobly despised danger in their Lord's Name—after thanking him most lovingly for the letters which they had received from him, as "their chiefest solace" during their afflictions, and praying "that the Lord would render to him the due reward of his charity," and professing that all their own zeal was to be attributed "to his teaching and exhortation," proceed to express, in the most fervent and touching language, their grateful acknowledgments to God, who had given to them "so illustrious a Bishop."² "We desire," so they conclude, "most blessed and most honoured father (or pope), that thou mayest ever fare well in the Lord and be mindful of us."³ It is

¹ "Cum ergo universi pacem peterent, dicentes, Recuperavimus fidem quam amiseramus, pœnitentiam agentes, et Christum publice sumus confessi; quamvis mihi videantur debere pacem accipere, tamen ad consilium vestrum eos dimisi, ne videar aliquid temere præsumere." *Epist.* xviii. p. 27. This deferential submission to the bishop's authority, in this case offered by a suffragan to his metropolitan, is thus recognised as a duty by two of the most distinguished presbyters of the Church Catholic. St. Jerome is speaking of the errors of a certain bishop, and suddenly adds, "Nec hoc dico, quod de Episcoporum sententiis judicem, aut eorum cuiquam statuta rescindi; sed quod unusquisque suo periculo faciat quod sibi videtur." S. Hieron. *Apolog. Adv. Ruffinum*, cap. v. tom. ii. p. 256. And St. Bernard, being challenged to dispute with a false teacher, tells Pope Innocent, "Dicebam sufficere scripta ejus ad accusandum eum, nec mea referre, sed Episcoporum, quorum esset ministerii de dogmatibus judicare." *Epist.* clxxxix. Opp. p. 1547. ed. Paris. 1632.

² *Epist.* xxvii. p. 36; with which compare the character given of him by S. Gregory Nazianzen, as ποιμένων ὁ κρᾶτιστος καὶ δοκιμώτατος. *Orat.* xviii. tom. i. p. 281.

³ Perhaps the most remarkable testimony of the Cyprianic age to the divine origin of Episcopacy is that which is supplied by the

pleasing as well as instructive to observe how dear this famous Bishop was to his own flock, for whom, having yielded up all things, in due time he laid down even his life.¹

The Martyr wrote also to the lapsed, of whom mention has been made. His letter begins thus: "Our Lord, whose precepts and injunctions it is our duty to observe, *founding in the Gospel the honour of the Bishop* and the structure of His Church, says to Peter, 'I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

famous letter of the Roman clergy, addressed to the Bishop of Carthage himself. Having lost their own bishop, Fabian, in the persecution then raging, they write to St. Cyprian, lamenting their defective condition, professing themselves at a loss how to direct the affairs of their Church, and confessing in the most emphatic language the truth of the doctrine, *Ecclesia in Episcopo*. Had these Christians ever heard of any such discipline, what an opportunity was this for vindicating presbyterian claims! Their Bishop dead, persecution raging, none to restrain or condemn them in whatever they put their hands to, how easy had it been to exercise authority if they wished to assume it, how natural if they thought they possessed it! Their Church seriously embarrassed for want of some authoritative counsel, if they had judged presbyterian government to be lawful, they were bound to have recourse to it; if they deemed Episcopacy less than divine, they might justly supersede it. And what did they do? They confessed themselves unable to conduct the discipline of their Church, "until a Bishop should be provided for them by God;" and write for advice, in the interim, to a famous Prelate in Africa! Vide *Epist. xxxi. Cleri Romani ad Cyprianum*, pp. 44, 45.

¹ "Confessores ad martyrium ipse perduxit, et ne minor esset prædicationibus suis, ipse quoque martyrii corona, Domino præstante, decoratus est." Cassiodor. lib. i. cap. 19. *De S. Cypriano*. On St. Cyprian's tone of mind at the prospect of his passion, see *Epist. lxxxiii.* p. 166.

And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' From thence the ordination of Bishops and the order of the Church flows down through the course of generations and successions; *so that the Church is founded upon Bishops, and by the same Rulers her every act is controlled.* Thus was it established by the divine law."¹

And this may suffice; for surely no words could speak more emphatically the mind of St. Cyprian. Again and again throughout his writings the same sentiments are expressed;² not timidly or uncertainly, as is the habit of those who introduce new opinions, but with a holy boldness, and a perpetual reference on the one hand to "the Gospel," and on the other to "the customs of antiquity." To oppose the Bishop was, in the judgment of this Martyr and his contemporaries, to rebel against God; and to separate from him, was to be cut off

¹ "Dominus noster, cujus præcepta et monita observare debemus, Episcopi honorem et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in evangelio, loquitur, et dicit Petro, 'Ego tibi dico,' &c. . . . Inde per temporum et successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Cum hoc itaque divina lege fundatum sit," &c. *Epist.* xxvii. *Lapsis*, pp. 37, 38.

² Vide *Epist.* xxxviii. *Ad Caldonium*, p. 51; *Epist.* xl. *Ad Plebem*, p. 53; *Epist.* xlii. *Ad Cornelium*, p. 57; *Ep.* xlix. *Ad eundem*, p. 64; *Ep.* lii. *Ad Antonianum*, pp. 68, 73; *Ep.* lxv. *Ad Rogatianum*, p. 112; *Ep.* lxix. *Ad Pupianum*, p. 123; &c.

from salvation.¹ Nor does he even take into account the accidents of circumstance, or prejudice, or education; he speaks of separation in the abstract; and he says of all separatists, that “not even if they were killed for confessing the Name of Christ could they be saved: their sin is inexpiable, and can be purged by no suffering.”² “They cannot dwell with God, who have refused to be of one mind in God’s Church; though they be given over to be burnt in flame and fire, or yield their lives a prey to wild beasts, theirs will not be the crown of faith, but the penalty of unfaithfulness; not the glorious issue of dutiful valour, but the death of despair. A man of such sort may indeed be killed; crowned he cannot be.”³

And it should be observed, that in using this awful language St. Cyprian had in his mind a certain definite sin. He was contemplating the case

¹ “Scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse et Ecclesiam in Episcopo, et si quis cum Episcopo non sit, in Ecclesia non esse.” *Ep. lxix. Ad Pupianum.*

² “Tales etiam si occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. Inexpiabilis et gravis culpa discordiæ, nec passione purgatur. Esse martyr non potest qui in ecclesia non est.” *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, pp. 198, 199; in which treatise the same sentiment is several times repeated.

³ “Cum Deo manere non possunt qui esse in Ecclesia Dei unanimes noluerunt. Ardeant licet flammis et ignibus traditi, vel obiecti bestiis animas suas ponant, non erit illa fidei corona, sed pœna perfidiæ, nec religiosæ virtutis exitus gloriosus, sed desperationis introitus. Occidi talis potest, coronari non potest.” *Ibid.* p. 199. And again, “si extra ecclesiam fuerit occisus, ad ecclesiæ non potest præmia pervenire.” p. 201.

of separatists who, like the “carnal” Christians of Corinth, were still orthodox in the faith. Their error was simply that they had despised the authority of their lawful Bishop; it was “in the gain-saying of Core,” as he admonishes them,¹ that they were “perishing.” Yet even these men were so far from denying the *office* of the Bishop, that they added sin to sin in order to procure one who might seem to have been lawfully appointed! What St. Cyprian, and the other primitive Saints and Martyrs, would have said of *our* separatists, we need not stay to inquire.

XIII. ST. JEROME uses the same language with those who have been already heard. A few passages only need be quoted from his writings; for, like the rest of his brethren, he has spoken so emphatically, that in a single sentence he often declares all which could be asserted in many volumes. The following is an instance.

A brother Presbyter had sought his advice how

¹ It is to be noticed, that St. Cyprian, as well as the other great teachers of the first ages, always compares the act of *separation* among professing Christians with the sin of Korah, Uzzah, and others, whose punishment is recorded “for our example” in the Old Testament. Thus Gregory Nazianzen asks a certain sectary, *Τί φῆς, ὃ παῖ Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρῶν, καὶ στρατηγὲ ἀσωφρόνιστε; ὁ κατὰ Μωϋσέως τολμήσας, κ.τ.λ. Orat. xxx. tom. i. p. 495.* So St. Chrysostom, *Οὐκ ἴστε τι πεπόνθασιν περὶ Κορὲ καὶ Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρῶν; Hom. xi. in Ephes. Cf. Aug. Contra Donat. et Rogat. Ep. xlviii. tom. ii. p. 73.* And such language, it must be admitted, agrees exactly with that of the Apostle,—St. Jude, verses 11 and 19.

he should rule his life: in St. Jerome's reply we find these striking words; "*Abide in subjection to your Bishop, and regard him as the father of your soul:*" and he confirms this charge by saying, "*What Aaron and his sons were, the same we must acknowledge the Bishop and his Presbyters to be.*"¹

Elsewhere, in the well-known passage already quoted, he says: "That we may understand the apostolical traditions gathered out of the Old Testament, *what Aaron, and his sons, and the Levites were in the Temple, the same let the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons claim to be in the Church;*"² — a saying which might indeed supersede any further citations, because to have uttered it without a profound conviction of the divine origin of the three orders would have been very gross profaneness, not to say blasphemy.

His notion of the Bishop's exalted rank was in accordance with this account of their position in the divine scheme. "It is lawful," he says, "to the people to weep; to the King it is not becoming to do so. *As with the King, so with the Bishop;* or rather, still less to the Bishop than to the King, since the one rules over willing, the other unwilling

¹ "Esto subjectus Pontifici tuo, et quasi animæ parentem suscipe. Quod Aaron et filios ejus, hoc Episcopum et presbyteros esse noverimus." *Ad Nepotian. Epist. ii. tom. i. p. 5.* So St. Austin, also writing to a Presbyter: "Episcopo tuo in hac re noli resistere, et quod facit ipse, sine ullo scrupulo vel disceptatione sectare." *Epist. lxxxvi. Casulano, tom. ii. p. 149.*

² *Evagrio, Epist. lxxxv. tom. ii. p. 311.*

subjects.”¹ A kind of language which we do not hear in our day.

With this compare his recognition of the Bishop’s power. He speaks thus of one who had set himself against certain catholic usages : “ I marvel that the holy Bishop, in whose diocese he is said to be a presbyter, should yield to his madness, and not rather break *with his apostolic rod*, with a rod of iron, this unprofitable vessel, and deliver him up to the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved.”²

No wonder that a saint who could speak thus should say, “ With us *Bishops occupy the place of the Apostles* ;”³ for how otherwise could his language be justified ? No wonder that he should add, “ Whosoever is baptised but by the hands of the Bishop, receives not the Holy Spirit, which, in valid Baptism, we believe to be imparted. The integrity of the Church *hangs upon the dignity of the Chief Priest* ; to whom, if men do not concede a certain peculiar and eminent authority, *there will spring up in the Church as many schisms as priests*. Hence it comes, that without the chrism and com-

¹ “ . . . licet lacrymare plebi, regi honeste non licet. Ut regi sic episcopo, immo minus episcopo quam regi ; ille enim nolentibus præest, hic volentibus.” *Epitaph. Nepotian.* cap. vii. p. 11.

² “ Miror sanctum episcopum, in cujus parochia esse presbyter dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus, et non virga apostolica, virgaque ferrea, confringere vas inutile, et tradere in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus fiat.” *Adv. Vigilant. ad Riparium*, Ep. liii. pp. 188, 9.

³ “ Apud nos Apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent.” *Ad Marcellam, Adv. Montanum*, Ep. liv. p. 193.

mandment of the Bishop, *neither presbyter nor deacon has the power to baptise.*"¹

And his reverence for the successor of the Apostles was not a matter of words only. Writing, with a just indignation, against the errors of a certain Bishop, he still feels constrained to say, "We are not so puffed up in our hearts as not to know what is due to the Priests of Christ; for he who receives them, does not so much receive them as Him *whose Bishops they are*; but let them be content with their honour; let them know themselves to be fathers, not lords."²

And as he witnesses against the error of modern sectaries, so does he against the more ancient and venerable corruption of others. "Wheresoever a Bishop may be," he says, "whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium,

¹ " . . . in ecclesia baptizatus, nisi per manus Episcopi, non accipiat Spiritum Sanctum, quem nos asserimus in vero baptismo tribui . . . Ecclesiæ salus in Summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors quædam, et ab hominibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes. Inde venit ut sine chrismate, et Episcopi jussione, neque presbyter, neque diaconis jus habeant baptizandi." *Adv. Luciferian.* cap. iv. tom. ii. p. 199. Cf. Tertullian. *De Baptismo*, cap. xvii. p. 263.

² "Non sumus tam inflati cordis ut ignoremus quid debeatur Sacerdotibus Christi; qui enim eos recipit, non tam eos recipit quam Illum cujus Episcopi sunt; sed contenti sint honore suo, patres se sciant esse, non dominos." *Ad Theophilum, Adv. Errores Joan. Hierosol.* tom. ii. p. 227. Elsewhere he says that he was restrained from venting his indignation at this unworthy Bishop by that word of St. Paul, "I wist not, brethren, that it was *the High Priest*; for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." *Ad Pammachium*, cap. iv. p. 215.

or at Alexandria, or at Tanis, he is, both in respect of merit and of his Priesthood, *one and the same*. Neither the power of wealth, nor the low estate of poverty, render a Bishop either more or less distinguished. *They are all the successors of the Apostles.*"¹

In all his innumerable comments he shews the distinction of Bishops and Presbyters to be set forth both in the Old and New Testaments; and the manner in which he derives the order and authority of the former from the Psalms and the Prophets is one of the most solemn and peculiar fea-

¹ "Ubicumque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis; ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt." *Evagrio*, Epist. lxxxv. p. 311. St. Cyprian asserts in a well-known passage—*Ad Antonian*. Epist. lii. p. 72—the same perfect completeness of the Episcopate in each of its separate portions; and his language is justly regarded as favouring the Anglican doctrine on that subject. It must be observed, however, that the condition expressed in the important words, "*Manente concordiae vinculo et perseverante catholice ecclesie individuo sacramento*," is declared by him to be essential to this completeness. Would that we might even yet see that condition fulfilled! Meanwhile both St. Cyprian and St. Jerome would seem to defend us in our lonely and isolated lot, so far as this,—that neither of them appears to have even so much as heard of the peculiar claims of the Bishop of Rome. Thus we find St. Jerome replying to an argument urged upon him from the practice of the Church at Rome, in these words: "*Why do you tell me of the custom of one city?*" "*Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem? quid paucitatem, de qua ortum est supercilium in leges Ecclesie, vindicas? Omne quod rarum est plus appetitur.*" *ubi supra*. Is it possible that this saint could have spoken in such a way, if the later notions of the court of Rome had been known in his day, or he had received them?

tures of his writings. Yet this Saint has been quoted against Episcopacy!

It is difficult to speak with due calmness of the treatment which St. Jerome has received at the hands of the Church's adversaries; and I shall not do more here than mention it as an instance of the humiliating tyranny of error.¹ It is not necessary to dwell upon so painful a subject, as it has exer-

¹ In one of his writings—an epistle to Evagrius—St. Jerome is censuring with much vehemence the presumption of the Deacons of Rome, who, by reason of their limited number, had affected to rank themselves above the Presbyters of the same Church. Anxious to raise to its greatest eminence the dignity of the latter, St. Jerome compares them with the highest order of all, and exclaims, “What can the Bishop do which the Presbyter cannot, *except ordain?*” And this is one of the passages which certain moderns have been accustomed to quote from this Father against Episcopacy. So that when St. Jerome emphatically says that Presbyters *cannot* ordain, he must be understood to assert as distinctly that they *can*. (Vide J. Morisani, *De Protopapis*, cap. v. pp. 62 and 75; who enumerates various canons of councils in which the presumption of the Deacons was reprov'd.) Upon another place often quoted out of the same Father by presbyterians, see Cornelius a Lapide, *In Epist. ad Phil.* cap. i.; who very justly observes that it is, in fact, directly opposed to their error. One thing is plain,—that these men would gladly quote the Fathers if they could be made to speak for them. For, as Bishop Downname notices, “If any of these, as, namely, Jerome, shall but *seem* to favor any of their assertions,—though in their sense he contradict himself, and gainsay all others, both Councils and Fathers,—against such a testimonie no exception, either of minoritie of age or singularitie of opinion, will be admitted, but that authoritie must overweigh all that himself and others say to the contrarie. It is a world to see how Jerome in this case is magnified and preferred before all antiquitie. ‘Who can better tell than Jerome?’ ‘Who better acquainted with the history of the Church than Jerome?’ &c. But when most pregnant and plain testimonies are produced out of Jerome, proving the superioritie of Bishops, agreeable with all antiquitie, then Jerome is ‘a youngling and under age!’” *Def. of Serm.* book iii. ch. ii. p. 35.

cised some of the greatest divines of modern times. With what incredulous amazement, we may suppose, would a simple-minded inquirer, ignorant of sectarian bitterness and fraud, hear the statement, that the author of the passages above quoted was a witness against the divine institution of Bishops!¹

XIV. ST. AUGUSTINE has been cited already in these pages; and so far as respects the identity of the episcopal with the apostolical office, it is needless, perhaps, to add any thing from him.² It may,

¹ A little acquaintance, however, with these persons would go far to diminish his surprise. The following illustration, for instance, of their policy would tend not a little that way. We have read above the saying of St. Jerome, that "the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Christian Church correspond to the High Priest, Priests, and Levites of the Jewish Synagogue." It is curious to see how three of the most learned and distinguished of the adversaries handle this passage, so fatal to the inventions of Geneva. The writers alluded to are Blondel, Salmasius (or Walo), and Louis Capelle. "Of these three," says the revered Hammond, "the last was soon discovered to have dealt most prudently, setting down the other testimonies out of Jerome, but wholly omitting this. The other two, having not been so wary, made use of another dexterity,—set down the words, but deferred their observations on them till some fitter season. Blondel put it off to his *sixth* section; whereas, upon examination, he hath but *three* in his whole book, and so is certainly never likely to speak of it, nor can be justly believed to have in earnest designed any such thing. The other, Walo, saith, 'he expects more and better notes on it from Salmasius (*i. e.* from himself) in another book,' viz. *De Ecclesiastico Ordine*; and after a great volume come out of that subject eight or nine years after, he yet never takes this place, nor his own promise, into consideration." Hammond's *Vindication of his Dissertations*, ch. iii. § 6, pp. 173, 4.

² One passage only shall be added. "Nemo ignorat," says he, "Episcopos Salvatorem ecclesiis instituisse. Ipse enim priusquam in cœlos ascenderet, imponens manum Apostolis, *ordinavit eos Episcopos.*" *Nov. Test. Quæst.* xiv.

however, be useful to set down a few passages in which the judgment of this famous bishop and confessor is expressed on the doctrine of spiritual communion with Christ only through His *Church*.

“The Catholic Church alone,” says he, “is the Body of Christ. *Out of this Body the Holy Spirit gives life to no man.*”¹ It must be confessed that, at least, his language is not more peremptory and severe than that of the Scriptures; for, as he himself observes, “That word of Christ, ‘If a man hear not the Church, *let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican,*’ is more grievous than if he were smitten with the sword, or consumed by flames, or cast to wild beasts.”²

Again he says: “If you receive Baptism, see that it be *within the Church*, lest that which you receive become unprofitable. Without the Church, Baptism tends only to destruction; within it, it is the first step towards salvation.”³

“Whosoever shall be found *without the Church*, will be cut off from the number of sons. He will not have God for his Father, who refused to have

¹ “Ecclesia Catholica sola corpus est Christi . . . extra hoc corpus neminem vivificat Spiritus Sanctus.” *Epist. l. De moderate coercend. Hæret.* tom. ii. p. 88.

² “Illud enim quod ait, ‘Si nec ecclesiam audierit,’ &c. gravius est quam si gladio feriretur, si flammis absumeretur, si feris subjiceretur.” *Contra Adversar. Leg. et Prophet.* lib. i. cap. xvii. tom. vi. p. 250.

³ “Si baptismum habes, esto in columba, ne non tibi prosit quod habes. Foris enim habebas baptismum ad perniciem; intus si habueris, incipit prodesse ad salutem.” *In Evang. Joannis Expos.* Tract. vi. tom. ix. p. 23.

the Church for his Mother.”¹ To separate from the Church, he says, “*is to deny that Christ came in the flesh; because it is to scatter that which He gathered together in one. This is to be Antichrist!*”²

“Whosoever shall be separated from this Catholic Church, *however unblameably he may deem himself to live*, for this one crime, that he is separated from the Unity of Christ, *shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him.*”³ Here,

¹ “Si quis absque ea (Ecclesia) inventus fuerit, alienus erit a numero filiorum. Nec habebit Deum patrem, qui Ecclesiam noluerit habere matrem.” *De Symbolo, Ad Catechumenos*, lib. iv. cap. xiii. tom. ix. p. 310. Observe that this doctrine was then introduced into the *catechetical* instructions.

² “Quomodo non negas Christum in carne venisse, qui disrumpis Ecclesiam quam Ille congregavit? Contra Christum ergo venis, Antichristus es. Intus sis, foris sis, Antichristus es. Sed quando intus es, lates; quando foris es, manifestaris. *Solvis Jesum, et negas Eum in carne venisse; non es ex Deo.*” *In Epist. Joannis*, Tract. vi. tom. ix. pp. 254, 5. In like manner St. Cyril of Jerusalem expresses his fears lest the divisions of the Churches—τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν—in his day should prove a token of the coming Antichrist; *Catech.* xv. p. 167. So St. Basil: τὰ νῦν γινόμενα προῖμα ἐστὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου. *Epist.* cccxxvi. tom. iii. p. 321. So Nazianzen, tom. i. p. 218. Even a Jew could refer to the history of Cain and Abel as a divine warning against schism, and an example of the heinousness of spiritual division. So deeply impressed have men always been, until these last days, with the magnitude of this crime. Vide Phil. Jud. *Quod det. potiori insid. soleat*, Opp. p. 161, ed. Paris. 1640.

³ “Quisquis ergo ab hac Catholica Ecclesia fuerit separatus, quantumlibet laudabiliter se vivere existimet, *hoc solo scelere*, quod a Christi unitate disjunctus est, non habebit vitam, sed ira Dei manet super eum.” *Ad Donatistas*, Ep. clii. tom. ii. p. 265. Elsewhere he says, “sacrilegium schismatis omnia scelera supergraditur.” *Contra Epist. Armeniani*, lib. i. cap. iv. tom. vii. p. 7. With these sayings compare the 10th and 11th Canons of the English

too, he refers to the Sacred Scriptures, as he ever does, and his remarks are very solemn. "You think," said he to the Donatists, "that schism is an inconsiderable offence. Well, let us not judge in such matters for ourselves, but take counsel from the Holy Scriptures. Select certain crimes of the gravest character, and see how God punished them. Then compare the judgments which He passed on schismatics; and thus you will know how to make a true estimate of the heinousness of either in His sight." It will not be denied that this was prudent advice. He then chooses for the required examples the sins of idolatry, which provoked the heavy wrath of God, and the sacrilegious burning of the sacred books recorded by Jeremiah; and he concludes thus: "The idolatry was avenged by the sword, the burning of the book by slaughter and captivity; but schism was punished by the opening of the earth, and the burying alive of its authors, they who were consenting to it being consumed by the fires of heaven! *Who now will doubt that that was the deepest crime which drew upon it the most grievous chastisement?*"¹ At least, we must confess

Church, wherein all who separate from her communion, on what plea soever, are adjudged "to be excommunicated, and not restored until they repent, and publicly revoke their wicked errors."

¹ Cf. *Contra Donatist. Pertinac.* Ep. clxii. p. 281, with Epist. clxxii. p. 295, and *De Baptismo*, lib. i. cap. viii. Optatus uses exactly the same way of reasoning. He compares the sins of *murder* and *idolatry* with that of schism, and observes, "that Cain lived, the Ninevites were pardoned; but schismatics were cut off by a new and strange death." *Adv. Parmenian.* p. 43.

that the startling anathemas of the meek Saints of old are as nothing to the mysterious jealousy of the Almighty Himself; and we shall then only venture to despise their sayings when we are prepared to scorn and defy His judgments. Certainly the acts of God and the words of His servants are, if it may be said, in exact accordance with each other.

The writings of St. Augustine will be found to abound with passages similar to those already quoted. Nor was it after a hasty or random way, but with the calm, severe, undeviating consistency of a matured saint, that this eminent person was accustomed to teach—or rather to witness to the ancient truth—that communion with the One Catholic Church is necessary to salvation.¹ It is important, too, to observe, in the same proportion in which it is important to know his judgment at all, that this was mainly enforced by him against certain separatists, who not only did not condemn any of the Catholic *tenets*, but who appear to have openly professed their cordial reception of the whole body of Church-doctrines.² This, I say, it

¹ A truth never questioned till of late years. Thus Ridley could say of the “Holy Catholic Church” of the Creed, “This is the Mother of us all; and by God’s grace I will live and die the child of this Church. Forth of this, I grant, there is no salvation.” *Conference with Latimer*, Answer to 5th Object. p. 123.

² “Confessi sunt enim contra Ecclesiam Catholicam, quæ toto terrarum orbe diffunditur, *nihil se habere quod dicerent.*” Aug. *Contra Donat.* Epist. clii. tom. ii. p. 265. Cf. J. A. Fabricius *In S. Philastr.* cap. lxxxii. p. 157, where it is expressly said of them, “sicut Ecclesia Catholica credebant.”

is important to notice, as shewing the exceeding *practicalness* of St. Austin's testimony in relation to the unhappy controversies of our own day. It is plain that the charitable anathemas of this Saint, as of all the holy brethren, would find an application among ourselves; and it is also plain upon whose heads they would fall.¹

The last passage which I will quote here affords a striking illustration of this. St. Cyprian, it will be remembered, had said, that "if a separatist should even lay down his life for the Name of Christ, he would die unblest." It seems to have been with an allusion to some such saying, that St. Austin spoke as follows of a class of sectaries, who, as respects their doctrinal teaching, were avowedly orthodox. "I do not assert," said he, "that if a Donatist should profess to have suffered any injuries in the cause of his party, or to have endured temporal losses, it would profit him nothing; I say more. I say, that if he should suffer *without the pale of the Church*, it will be as the

¹ Bishop Bull notices, that our modern sectaries "must *upon the same account* have been separatists and schismatics if they had lived in any other settled Church of Christ since the days of the Apostles." *Sermon* xiii. vol. i. p. 340. "The *same principles* they insist on for justifying their present contempt of the Ecclesiastical government, and their present separation, would have obliged them to separate if they had lived in those times, or would have excused and justified those who did then separate." Dodwell, *One Altar*, chap. xiii. § 4. p. 375. Or, as it has been said in fewer words, "The *reasons* for separation are such as will justify the greatest schismatics that ever were in the Christian Church." Stillingfleet, *Unreasonableness of Separation*, part ii. § 25.

enemy of Christ; and if one of Christ's enemies should say to him, *being without the Church*, 'Offer sacrifice to our idols, worship our gods,' and he, through refusing to worship, should be slain by the enemy of Christ, *his blood he may pour out, a crown he cannot receive.*"¹

There is one way of meeting these fearful statements of Augustine and all Saints; and it is, at least for the time present, an effectual one. I mean, by referring them either to levity and intemperance, or to an utter and uniform misconception of divine truth. There is, however, so much implied in such a notion, that few only amongst the disciples of the modern schools have hitherto ventured to propound it; whilst the rest, by the sort of convulsive eagerness with which, from time to time, they have claimed communion with the holy Fathers of the Church, have betrayed their reluctance to maintain a proposition which, though essential to the defence

¹ "Ego non dico, si aliquas injurias quasi jactet se passum esse pro parte Donati, aut aliqua damna terrena, nihil ei prodest. Ego plus dico; si patiatur foris . . . et dicat ei foras ab ecclesia Christi inimicus Christi, Pone thus idolis, adora deos meos, et non adorans occidatur ab inimico Christi, sanguinem fundere potest, coronam accipere non potest." *Concio de Gestis cum Emerito*, tom. vii. p. 249. And severe as such a sentiment may appear, in contrast with our lax notions, it was in earlier ages the common belief. "Etiam si passus est aliquid Novatianus," says Pacian, "non tamen etiam occisus. Etiam si occisus, non tamen coronatus. Quidni? Extra Ecclesiæ pacem, extra concordiam, extra eam matrem cujus portio debet esse, qui martyr est? Audi Apostolum;—Et si habuero," &c. *Epist. ii. apud Bibliothec. Patrum*, tom. iii. p. 425. They all, it will be observed, found this doctrine upon the express warrant of God's word.

of their errors, is perceived to be injurious to the Divine honour, and, when pressed to its legitimate conclusions, nothing less than positive blasphemy. For ourselves, we are more than ever solicitous, in a licentious age, to follow on in the path, and search out the footprints, now almost erased, of the old Saints; and we think it a work of Christian charity to invite others to do the like.

XV. The evidence which it was proposed to collect in this chapter might here be closed. Much which deserved a place in it has, for the sake of brevity, been omitted; and much still remains. So authentic, indeed, and varied, is the testimony which it has pleased God to provide for us, in relation to the primitive order and structure of His Church, that, as has been truly said, “no fact in all history admits of more copious and infallible demonstration.” You can scarcely open a page of any ecclesiastical record, or the writings of any ecclesiastical person of the first four centuries, without meeting some incontrovertible proof of the succession of Bishops from Apostles, and the identity of their Office. So that, as might have been expected, many ages passed away before any man could be found so much as to question it. Under what circumstances this extraordinary attempt was first made will be presently considered. Meanwhile, there are still four of the greatest ornaments of our race—conspicuous even amongst the wisest

and holiest of the servants of God, the glory of their own age, and the bright examples of every other—whose evidence it is impossible wholly to omit. A single sentence, however, from each of them is all which shall be set down here.

“Who confers,” asks St. Ambrose, in a certain place, “the Episcopal grace—God or man? Without doubt you will reply, God. Yet still God gives it by the instrumentality of man. Man lays on the hand, but God bestows the grace. The Priest in supplication imposes his hand, God in His might pours out the blessing. *The Bishop admits to the Order, and God annexes the excellency.*”¹

St. Basil the Great—ἐπισκοπῶν τύπος—explaining, in one of his writings, how the originators of schism may themselves have received spiritual gifts by a *lawful* ordination, goes on to say, “but they who are severed (from the Succession) *become laymen*; nor do they retain the power either of baptising or of laying on of hands, being no longer able to communicate to others that grace of the Holy Spirit, from which they themselves have

¹ “Quis dat, frater, Episcopalem gratiam? Deus, an homo? Respondes sine dubio, Deus. Sed tamen per hominem dat Deus. Homo imponit manum, Deus largitur gratiam. Sacerdos imponit supplicem dexteram, et Deus benedicit potenti dextera. Episcopus initiat ordinem, et Deus tribuit dignitatem.” *De Dignitate Sacerdotali*, cap. v. citat. a Petavio, *De Ecclesiast. Hierarch.* lib. i. cap. iii. § 5. In the same work, cap. ii., St. Ambrose says, “Honor et sublimitas Episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari;” and elsewhere, “Omnis Episcopus Presbyter, *non tamen omnis Presbyter Episcopus.*” In 1 Tim. iii.

fallen away :”¹ where he refers to separation from the *one* true Bishop ; the idea of repudiating Bishops altogether, he does not even contemplate.

“ Nothing,” says St. John Chrysostom, “ so provokes the indignation of God as the division of the Church ; and although we may have wrought ten thousand righteous acts, yet shall we receive, if we cut in sunder the fulness of the Church, *no less chastisement than theirs who mangled His Body.*”² And he presently quotes as his own sentiment the saying of St. Cyprian, that “ not even martyrdom can wash out the sin of schism.”

Lastly, the blessed Athanasius, writing to one who had fled from the duties of the episcopal office for fear of persecution, says, “ How wouldest thou have become a Christian, *if there had been no Bishops?*”³ And then he proceeds to assert, in the

¹ Οἱ δὲ ἀπορράγντες, λαϊκοὶ γένομενοι, οὔτε τοῦ βαπτίζειν, οὔτε τοῦ χειροτονεῖν εἶχον τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐκέτι δυνάμενοι χάριν πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐτέροις παρέχειν, ἧς αὐτοὶ ἐκπεπτώκασι. *Epist. ad Amphilocheum*, tom. iii. p. 21.

² Οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐκκλησίαν δυνήσεται διαιρεῖν, ὥς φιλαρχία· οὐδὲν οὕτω παροξύνει τὸν Θεόν, ὥς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαιρεθῆναι· κἂν μυρία ᾧμεν ἐργασάμενοι καλὰ, τῶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ διατεμόντων οὐκ ἐλάττονα δώσομεν δίκην οἱ τὸ πλήρωμα κατατέμνοντες τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικόν. *Hom. xi. in Ephes.* tom. iii. p. 822. So St. Bernard, speaking of the holy Angels, says, “ Nihil æque offendit et ad indignationem provocat eos, quomodo dissensiones et scandala, si forte inveniantur in nobis :” and he supposes them to confer with one another thus ; “ Nos de regno unitatis et pacis sumus, et homines istos in eandem unitatem et pacem sperabamus esse venturos. Nunc autem *qua ratione nobis cohæreant, qui dissident a seipsis?*” *In Festo S. Michaelis*, serm. i. Opp. p. 279.

³ *Ad Dracontium*, tom. i. p. 955 ; in which epistle the divine origin of Episcopacy is declared with the most earnest iteration.

uniform language of the primitive saints, from the martyrs Ignatius and Irenæus down to Basil and Ambrose, that the Church is in such sort built upon the Bishops—that is, the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ—that the one cannot even be contemplated as distinct from the other; a Church without Bishops being, in the judgment of these ancients, not “defective” or “imperfect” merely, but, as they speak, “*no Church at all.*”¹

XVI. We have now received the evidence of the first four centuries of Christianity; and here our inquiry may terminate. The few words which have been cited from each of the holy witnesses, imperfectly and inadequately as they exhibit the peculiar features of that rare and unearthly wisdom which it would be a high privilege to examine with scrupulous minuteness, are yet more than sufficient

Ποῦ δὲ ἔσται ὁ ἱερεὺς, says another, εἰ μὴ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸν χειροτονήσῃ; Georg. Pachymeris in Pseudo-Dionys. *De Ecclesiast. Hierarch.* cap. v. p. 323: and thus they all speak. “Non obscurum est,” says the Canonist, “Patribus persuasum fuisse, plenitudinem Sacerdotii in Episcopis residere; qui *portionem* illius in Presbyteros aliosque inferiores ministros, prout necessitas aut utilitas Ecclesiæ requirere videntur, ita diffundunt, seu potius iis communicant, uti tamen ipsi *plenitudinem ejus* in se retineant.” Van Espen, *De Can. Ancyran.* tom. ii. part ii. § 8.

¹ “For if Bishops only have received a Divine power from Christ and His Apostles to ordain Priests, he that hath not the Divine power of Ordination can no more ordain a Priest than a man without the Divine power of Creation can create a Star;—both are *impossible* in nature.” *The True State of the Primitive Church*, p. 47 (1675). “Potestas ecclesiastica *de necessitate* fundatur in dono supernaturali.” Gerson, *De Potest. Ecclesiast.* Opp. tom. i, p. 111.

for our immediate purpose. That purpose was, primarily, the collection of testimony upon a certain matter of fact, with regard to which they who offer it were beyond even the possibility of misconception or error; and secondarily, the illustration of a characteristic tone and temper in which that fact was uniformly urged by the Saints and Martyrs of the primitive Church. That twofold purpose has now been attained; and we have seen that all the Catholic witnesses are accordant not only in the matter of their allegations, but also in the spirit with which they are delivered; not only in declaring the *fact* that Bishops are the successors of the Apostles, but also in asserting the *doctrine* that communion with them is, by the immutable law of God, a condition of salvation. And this their judgment has been religiously maintained by the whole company of the faithful, unquestioned and undisputed, even by the enemies of the Church, during fifteen successive ages.

Unspeakably great, then, is the disadvantage of their cause, who can only prove themselves right by convincing the Saints of error; who throw scorn upon the discipline in which their fathers lived, and mock the Church for which they rejoiced to die; whose strife is not with us their fellow-men, but with the elect of God in every nation and in every age; whose defence is nought, till they have shewn that all whose warfare is done have lived and died in error; who are condemned out of their own

mouth, unless they prove that "*the noble army of Martyrs*" battled for a lie, and "*the Holy Church throughout all the world*" believed it.

And even this is but a small part of the complicated heresies and irreligious opinions which the modern sectary is driven by his unhappy position to maintain. He must not only, by the profession of his own wild and incoherent inventions, cast reproach upon all who have ever called upon the Name of Christ before him, and assume that to have been palpable error which was counted by all saints to be saving truth; he must not only put aside, as, at best, an unreal and visionary polity, the universal Church of God during its first and purest ages; but is further compelled, if he would not stand self-condemned, to deny the fulfilment of the gracious promises of God, as well as the prophecies of His Holy Spirit. He must defend Christianity with the reasonings of a Jew, and "contend for the faith" with the arguments of a heathen. He must begin by rejecting at least one article of the Apostles' Creed, and make his boast that he has no share in "*the Communion of Saints*;" and when he has proved that the sacred Scriptures are no true revelation, that all the dead were deceivers, and nearly all the living deceived; when universal Christendom shall be convinced of error, and we be left only to share with our fathers an inheritance of shame and sorrow; then at length shall a new faith be proposed to us in the place of

the old, and a new creed set before us, of which the articles shall be such as these: "That the 'Author of peace and Lover of concord' hath yielded up His Church to 'confusion' from the very hour in which He suffered to exalt her; that the Jew, whom He cast out, had a worship and priesthood of His own appointing, but Christians, whom He hath called 'brethren,' shall have neither, or find both for themselves; that prophets have seen visions which come not to pass, and apostles delivered warnings which had no meaning; that saints have believed that system to be divine which was not only human, but needless and corrupt; and martyrs declared that to be vital truth which is disowned by the Master in whose Name they died; that it is idle to '*mark well the bulwarks of Zion,*' for they have no strength, or to '*consider her palaces,*' which have no beauty; that peace is not to be ensued, division not to be abhorred; that concord is not lovely, nor schism hateful; obedience no merit, and rebellion no offence."

That the persons in question would formally enunciate these essential principles of their "new gospel" is not, of course, asserted; though some few have ventured to do even this. It seems, on the contrary, to be true, that, with certain rare exceptions, they have always shrunk from avowing openly the shocking assumptions upon which their theology is based. The conscience is not often so

effectually seared, but that, at times, like the patient beast of the desert, it will start aside from the burden laid upon it. And thus men, whose daily attitude is a sort of haughty defiance of the whole body of the Saints, and a disdainful repudiation of the faith of all past ages, will yet strive to hide the nakedness of which they affect to boast, claim kindred with the ancient servants of God,¹ and even profess to be descended from that noble ancestry whose tradition they utterly reject, whose customs they have changed, and whose creed they have trodden under foot.

The existence of this instinctive sympathy has been curiously evidenced by the sort of language usually employed by the chief men among the modern religionists, when speaking of the holy Fathers of blessed memory. So far from asserting in words the opposition, or vindicating the estrangement, which in act they manifest without even a shew of reserve, they seem to contend with each other in the use of a reverent and respectful phraseology towards the sacred dead. And so solicitous are they to conceal their alienation from that sainted company, that many of them have not

¹ “On ne peut nier que Calvin n'eut du respect pour les Pères, puis qu'il les alléguoit souvent pour les témoins de sa doctrine.” Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. xxv. p. 1492. “Luther mesme, qui est asseûrément celui, de tous cez révoltez contre l'Eglise, qui fait le moins d'estat de l'autorité des Pères, qu'il traite assez souvent d'une manière très indigne, se glorifie néanmoins de l'avoir entièrement de son côté.” Maimbourg, tome i. livre i. ann. 1524.

scrupled even to modify, with a dangerous courtesy, the reproachful language which others would employ against the living representatives of the ancient Catholic Church. It is not as enemies that they would accost us now. They content themselves with saying, that we who imitate the primitive Christians are right, only they claim to be right too—"we are *both* right," they say. They have some misgiving, it seems, in openly reviling men whom, if ever they see heaven, they are likely to meet again; and therefore they put their hands on their mouths. But this will not serve them. They *must* give or take reproach, and either reject the Saints, or be cast out by them.¹ And for this reason: *because the questions in dispute between them were never held, on either side, to be included within the compass of things indifferent; because they were at no time embraced passively, as mere matters of opinion, but declared from the first to be DE FIDE, and delivered by all Saints, in all ages, as a part of divine necessary truth.*²

¹ Εἰ τὰ ἐκείνων καλῶς πράγματα, τὰ ἡμέτερα κακῶς· εἰ δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα καλῶς, τὰ ἐκείνων κακῶς. S. Chrysost. *Hom.* xi. *in Ephes.* tom. iii. p. 822. "Neque enim possunt laudare nos," says another, "qui recedunt a nobis." S. Cyprian. *Ep.* lii. *Ad Antonian.* "Si nostra communio," says Augustine, "est ecclesia Christi, non est ecclesia Christi vestra communio. Una est enim, quæcunque illa sit, de qua dictum est, Una est columba mea, &c. Nec possunt ecclesiæ tot esse quot schismata." *De Baptismo, Contra Donatistas*, lib. i. cap. ii. tom. vii. p. 36.

² "Calvinism, such as it existed in the 16th century, amidst all its errors had two truths. Though its Articles of Faith were erro-

In proof of this I need only refer to the citations given above. There is no escaping from the downright positiveness of such statements. They are not capable of two interpretations. The theology of Athanasius and Chrysostom, of Basil and Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome, Cyprian and Irenæus, is not of the chameleon-hue of modern doctrine. It is, on the points at issue, essentially dogmatic. It may be devoutly received, or boldly rejected; it cannot be perverted. The theory of these lukewarm men *will not hold*.

Thus Cyprian, saint and martyr, would say to these also, "Ye set Bishops at nought, ye desert the Priests of God, ye dare to build another altar, to offer another prayer with unlicensed words, to *profane by false sacrifices the truth of the Lord's sacrifice*." And Ignatius, saint and martyr too, would tell them, "he who does any thing *without the Bishop's sanction*, worshippeth the devil." And Clement, another saint and martyr, "fellow-labourer" of Apostles, whose name was in the book of life, would advise them "rather to transport themselves to the furthest corner of the world, *than to create a schism in the flock of Christ*." What will they answer? That they care not what these men thought? Yes, it is as I said:

neous, yet it asserted that a true faith was necessary to salvation; and though its discipline was a human invention, yet it asserted that Church-authority was from God." Froude's *Remains*, part ii. vol. i. p. 394.

they have nothing to do with "*the Communion of Saints.*"

And it has been shewn that they have as little sanction for their inventions, if they carry the appeal to the Holy Scriptures. This, indeed, would follow from the other. For, it might be naturally asked, if the faith and practice of all Christians from the days of St. John were wrong, how could the Bible be right? If truth was never discovered till now, in what sense can it claim to be truth at all? or what security shall the living feel in its possession, if it has escaped all the search of the dead? These are questions of deep moment to the adversary. And even if he should make up his mind to despise at once the declarations of Prophecy, the evidence of the Apostles, and the testimony of all Saints; if he should venture to reject the combined authority of Scripture and Antiquity, and to cast away with his own hand the blessings which no man could have taken from him, then at length he must be referred to the judgment of his own masters and teachers; and from them he may learn, that that human scheme which he is resolved to maintain at such fearful hazard, *they* would have rejoiced to resign; that what he deems a privilege, they counted a misfortune; and that he has miserably forsaken the true Ark of God, to search for an habitation without roof or walls, which proved a feeble shelter to them when they could find no other, and which, having scarcely survived the ruin

of its first framers, has long since been shattered into a thousand fragments. That this is his real position, the adversaries themselves being judges, we shall see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMISSIONS OF ADVERSARIES.

I. THE position occupied by the Calvinistic and Lutheran communities of the present age differs in many respects from that which was taken up by their predecessors in the sixteenth century. They are not the same even in their formal professions. And so far from recognising the one at first sight as identical with the other, or acknowledging the later as legitimate representatives of the earlier Protestants, it is only when we come to observe that certain symbols and watchwords, with which we are familiar, are common to both, that we are able to trace any points of the similitude which is by some so warmly asserted.

It seems probable that much of the prevailing misapprehension on this subject is owing to an extremely imperfect acquaintance with the very principles and sentiments with which such indiscriminate sympathy is expressed; and in a measure, perhaps, to the extraordinary vagueness and contradictoriness of the writings in which they are contained. The theology of Calvin and Luther, of Zuingle and

Melancthon, was not, it must be confessed, remarkable for stability ; and their statements were as fluctuating as their creeds. In their own day they used to be claimed by the most conflicting religionists ;¹ and they are still appealed to by many, who, whatever their differences may be, seem to agree instinctively in seeking *their* countenance and support. It is, however, in their supposed character as the reformers of a false and corrupt discipline, and the revivers of an earlier and apostolical polity, that they are most commonly applauded by the various separatists of our own day. And it is in this character only that I intend to speak of them.

The opinion of the separatists in question — those of the present age — is founded, so far as it is heretical, upon three assumptions :—(1) that the government of Christ's Church was originally administered by the common counsel of co-ordinate presbyters, between whom there existed an absolute parity ; (2) that this government was *changed* a few years after its institution, by ecclesiastical consent, and arbitrarily transferred to an order of men who were thenceforth styled Bishops ; and (3) *that at the time of the reformation these two facts*

¹ As their adversaries did not fail to remind them. "How," asked Cardinal Farnese, "are your desires to be complied with, when you cannot even agree among yourselves what they are? If we concede to Luther, what shall be said to Zuingle? And if to the latter, what to the former, from whom he differs as much as from us?" Sleidan. *De Temporibus Caroli V. Imperat. Comment.* lib. xiii. ann. 1540. p. 215. ed. Argentor. 1557.

were distinctly asserted by those who were leaders in that movement, the government by Bishops uniformly condemned as an usurpation, and the supposed primitive form consistently vindicated and restored. It is notorious that all these points are assumed as undoubtedly true by the teachers of the modern schools; and it is as certain that they are all completely and extravagantly false.

The first two assumptions have been already proved to be so. The third, however, is sometimes supposed to rest upon better grounds. It will be the business of the present chapter to shew that it is no less erroneous than the others; that the persons who are commonly called "reformers" *did not* venture to repudiate the authority of Bishops;¹ that they constantly professed their desire to continue in subjection to them; that they actually did so in many remarkable instances; that they justified their final separation only on the plea of invincible necessity; that their original quarrel was solely about matters of *doctrine*; and that the idea of searching the Scriptures for any other than the catholic system of *discipline* was altogether *an after-thought*. In a word, that the testimony of these professed adversaries of the One Catholic Church is not less emphatically opposed — so far as it relates to the subject of these pages

¹ "Deceived greatly they are," says Hooker, "who think that all they whose names are cited amongst the favourers of this (the puritan) cause, are on any such verdict agreed." *Preface*, ch. iv. p. 200.

—to the wild and confident novelties of our own times, than that combined teaching of Scripture and Antiquity which has been already so largely cited.

The most obvious method of proving this statement would be of course to allege specific admissions from the formal “Confessions” of the great Continental sects, as well as the individual writings of their most distinguished divines; and this shall presently be done. But it seems extremely important, in order to a due appreciation of the evidence which will be adduced under this head, to notice one or two characteristic features by which the writings in question are marked. No one, I think, who is at all versed in them, can have failed to observe the *apologetic* tone with which they are commonly pervaded. Now this tone, of which some illustrations shall be given, was not the indication only, but the undisguised confession of a certain consciousness of imperfection and error. It was not as an accurate resemblance of the primitive type that these teachers presumed at first to speak of their new system. It was only as the best which they could, in their circumstances, contrive; and again, as at least something better than that from which they had separated. Protestantism was asserted to be pure and true, in comparison with Romanism.

Consistently with this theory, we find the vocation of the first “reformers” almost uniformly

defended as extraordinary, the irregularity of their ministrations excused on the plea of necessity, and all defects of their condition laid to the charge of their enemies. The supposed apostasy of Rome was assumed as an ample justification of measures which were not even pretended to be lawful in themselves.

Several passages shall now be quoted in proof of this. And with a view to avoid the awkwardness and confusion of a mere collection of extracts, these shall be so arranged as to illustrate in the following order the statements made above:—(1) First it shall be shewn, that the reformers, unlike their modern disciples, did not hesitate freely to acknowledge that their condition was a defective one; (2) that they admitted the value of the *ordinary* vocation in the Church by reiterated apologies for that which was *extraordinary* in themselves; (3) that they professed to justify their acts, not as inherently lawful, but as simply “*necessary*,” by reason of the enormous corruptions and inflexible tyranny of Rome; and (4) that Romanists themselves have made concessions, which, while they tend to excuse the separatists of that age, and to give plausibility to their line of defence, are an additional condemnation of the sectaries who profess to succeed them in this, but who neither vindicate themselves with their reasonings, nor have any such concessions to plead. It is obvious, that when these statements shall have been proved, the

two classes in question will be already widely separated from each other, even in respect of those first principles which are usually thought to be common to them both. And when this has been accomplished, we may then adduce with better effect the evidence of that further and special distinction which it is the main object of this chapter to trace.

(1.) The confessions of the Master himself, by whom the new theology was chiefly framed, are so various and unreserved, that it may suffice in this place to set down a few only by way of example. One, indeed, such as the following, might very well have been allowed to stand by itself. “*That the discipline which the ancient Church used is wanting to us,*” said Calvin, in reply to the reproaches of Cardinal Sadolet, “*we ourselves do not deny.*”¹ Our brethren now would tell us that this honest confession was a mistake, and that their discipline *is* that “*which the ancient Church used;*”—or, at

¹ “*Disciplinam, qualem habuit vetus Ecclesia, nobis deesse, neque nos diffitemur.*” And the words which follow this admission are no less remarkable. “*Sed cujus erit æquitatis, nos eversæ disciplinæ ab iis accusari, qui et eam soli penitus sustulerunt, et cum postliminio reducere conaremur, nobis hactenus obstiterunt?*” To understand which, it must be remembered that Calvin charged them with having violated the ecclesiastical canons of the primitive Church; *Ad Cardinal. Sadolet. Responsio*. John Sturmius uses the same way of reasoning. Describing minutely the ancient and primitive system, he adds, “*Hæc olim Pontificum disciplina; hanc nobis, Sadolete, restituite, si Pontificum auctoritatem esse vultis. Neque enim quendam nostrorum hominum esse credo, qui Pontifices rejiciat, modo Pontificalis disciplina possit recuperari.*” *Card. Sadolet. Respons.*

all events, that they have no mind to submit to any other.

“*I know*,” said the same teacher elsewhere, “*how many things might be required as lacking in us. And truly, if God should presently summon us to a reckoning, our defence would be a difficult one.*”¹

This candour and humility in such a man as Calvin is not less remarkable than the absence of those qualities in his scholars.

In another place, describing to the King of Poland, in whose dominion the reformed doctrine was then beginning to spread, the “extraordinary” vocation which he and his contemporaries conceived themselves to have received, and having exhorted him to sanction an “extraordinary” method of discipline in his territories, he proceeds thus: “But this would be *a temporary office*, for so long as matters should continue disordered and unsettled, *not a reformation of the Church, but a certain preparation only*. And when things should be matured, then, by the king’s authority and the counsels of the state, *a more proper order* for the creating of Pastors might for the future be appointed.”² And

¹ “Scio quam multa desiderari a nobis possint. Et certe, si hodie nos Deus vocaret ad calculum, difficilis esset excusatio.” *De Reformanda Ecclesia*. Peter Viret makes the same confession. “Multa adhuc apud nos merito desiderari possunt ad plenam absolutamque Ecclesiæ et Christianæ disciplinæ restitutionem.” *In Sacr. et Eccles. Minist.* Præfat.

² “Esset autem hoc temporale munus, quantisper res incompositæ manerent ac suspensæ. Neque enim fieri potest, &c. . . . Denique, non reformatio esset Ecclesiæ, sed quædam solum præpa-

with these, as we shall hear Calvin again, we may pass on to another.¹

Melancthon appears to have delivered quite as plainly the same sentiments. "It is a greater scandal," said he, "to forsake Churches for any thing short of the most weighty causes, than merely to give our adversaries the opportunity of censuring our moderation. Judge whether of the two is the evil-doer,—the obstinate and inflexible man, who, that he may preserve the reputation of constancy, *would rather desert a Church than change a vestment*; or he who, more patient in subjection, would endure even offensive burdens, that he might be profitable to the Church. For it often happens that these very inexorable and immoderate men neglect, nay hinder the Gospel, and meanwhile *make an uproar about little matters*." Melancthon seems to have appreciated these "reformers;" and he freely admits that there were many of them in

ratio. Rebus autem maturis, regia auctoritate et suffragiis ordinum constitui posset in posterum certior ratio de Pastoribus creandis." *Epist. cxc. Sereniss. Regi Poloniae*, pp. 351, 2. ed. Bezæ, 1597.

¹ One passage only shall be added. "Primum cum ministri," says the same reformer, "certa quadam inter se disciplina opus habeant, non hoc quærendum est qualiter sine legibus vivamus, sed ineunda potius œconomiae et ordinis ratio, quæ *apta sit* ad nos in officio retinendos, et ad ædificationem serviat. Nunquam autem sic comparatae erunt res hominum, ut aliquid *perfectum* reperiatur . . . Jam vero in hac nostra infirmitate fieri nequit, quin aliqua in nobis desiderentur." Here surely are abundant admissions. There is no pretence of going back to the "old paths," but some new way is to be "*sought for*," which may be "*suitable*" for present need; yet still, as being a "*human*" device, it must not be expected that it should be "*perfect*." *Calvini Epist. lv. Neocomensibus*, p. 120.

his day, "*even rulers and elders,*" as well as "*many teachers,* who gave too much license to their own private notions: but we should all," he adds,—and this is my reason for quoting him,—"*submit the more humbly to subjection for this very reason, that we have all abused the plea of liberty.*"¹

"Some, however," he continues, "object that saying of Paul, 'If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.' *Paul did not commit any errors in destroying,*" was Melancthon's noble reply. "But in this our infirmity, when first the ancient religious rites were abolished, there was a vast incongruity of teachers, and of opinions, and of circumstances. *We confess that we are men, and that we may have both said and done things rashly and unadvisedly.*"²

Again, he could make earnestly the confession which we for the most part forget to make: "*many*

¹ " . . . ac servitutem eo modestius feramus, quia prætextu libertatis nos abusi sumus omnes." Vide *Consilium* Ph. Melancthonis, *Ad Marchiacas Ecclesias*, pp. 45-47; cf. *Epist. ad T. Matthiam*, p. 251; and *Ad G. Bucholtzer*, p. 283. See also the strong statement of Bullinger, quoted by Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 112.

² "Objiciunt autem aliqui dictum Pauli, 'Si quæ destruxi, ea restituo, prævaricator fio.' Non erravit Paulus in destruendo. At in hac nostra infirmitate, cum primum veteres ritus aboliti sunt, magna fuit et docentium et opinionum et locorum dissimilitudo . . . Fateamur nos homines esse, et potuisse quædam temere et incircumspecte dicere et facere." *Consil.* p. 47. In like manner, all that Daillé ventures to say in behalf of "lay-elders" is, "that though it may certainly seem a new thing, and different to the order established by the Apostles, yet, if it be narrowly considered, it will not be found *so widely different* from their form of government." Vide *Thes. Salmur.* part ii. p. 353, ed. Salmurii, 1641.

are the sins of the Church, and for these is it chastised ;”¹ and he speaks of still seeing, amid the common ruin — for so he did not hesitate to describe it — “ *some vestiges of the Church*, which, while they are providentially preserved, shew that *even we* are not cast off by God.”² This, it will be admitted, is not the language of our moderns, nor any thing like it. Yet it is but an imperfect representation of the submissive and self-reproaching tenor of Melancthon’s common discourse.

“ Think not,” said another of these teachers — the learned Theodore Beza — “ that we are so arrogant as to desire to abolish that which is eternal, namely, the Church of our God. Think not that we search after arguments by which we would depress you *to this our wretched and vile condition* — in which, however, we cordially acquiesce. Do we imagine ourselves wiser than so many Greek and Latin doctors? Are we so self-conceited as to suppose that *we* have first discovered truth? or so inflated as to condemn *the whole world* of error? Far, far be that from us.”³

¹ *Epist. ad Myconium*, p. 317.

² *Amico cuidam*, p. 330. Elsewhere he passionately laments “ the subversion of the *apostolic* discipline ;” *Domino Gallo*, p. 68. Claude too, like Melancthon, could bear to speak of the imperfections of his own communion. “ Les uns,” he says, contrasting Romanists with Lutherans, “ nous paroissent comme un corps couvert d’un grand nombre de playes, qui toutes ensemble arrêtent les fonctions de la vie ; et les autres comme un corps qui n’en a qu’une ou deux, *qui n’empêchent pas qu’il ne vive et qu’il n’agisse.*” *Défense de la Réformation*, ch. vii. p. 170.

³ “ Ne existimate nos ita arrogantes esse ut velimus abolere

Again : having assured Bishop Grindal that, both in respect of doctrine and discipline, he was ready to submit to the word of God, he adds, — “ Nevertheless, that we are as yet widely removed from that which ought now to have been constituted, we do willingly confess.”¹

The above writers may be regarded as representing the German and Swiss communities : the French Protestants may be heard next. “ No wonder,” says the son of the celebrated Dr. Peter Du Moulin, “ that the common people, that see no Bishops but such as are foul heretics, and their persecutors”—(it was thus they spoke of the Roman Catholic Prelates)—“ can hardly conceive of a Bishop under another notion. But the generous and illuminate souls make no difficulty to *acknowledge openly* the scantiness of their Church-government, and *that their bed is shorter than that they can stretch themselves in it, and their covering narrower than that they can wrap themselves in it.* But as short and narrow as it is, they must keep it by an invincible necessity.”²

quod sempiternum est, nempe Ecclesiam Dei nostri. Ne putate nos rationes quærere,” &c. Vide *Comment. de Statu Religionis sub Carolo IX.* lib. iii. pp. 122 and 127.

¹ “ Quamvis ab eo quod jam constitutum oportuit, nos multum adhuc abesse, ultro fateamur.” *Epist. viii. Ad Grindallum, Episc. Londinens.*

² Dr. Peter Du Moulin’s *Novelty of Popery* ; Preface, by his son the translator, who says, “ The condition of the French Protestant Church, living under the cross ever since the Reformation, is an *interregnum* as for the ecclesiastical power. Whereof, if they

Hugo Grotius, speaking in the name of another section of Protestants—those of the Low Countries—after warmly professing his belief that the Anglican Church had arranged itself according to the primitive model, and in exact conformity with the most ancient customs, adds: “from which, that we in France and the Netherlands have departed, *it is not possible for us to deny.*”¹

have neither the right order, nor the full exercise, all that defect is *the vice of the times, not of the persons*, which ought no more to be blamed for it than a workman that is manacled for doing a piece of work as well as he can, not as well as it should be.” *Ibid.* John Hales says the same thing: “The French Church being *sub cruce* cannot well set up Episcopal jurisdiction.” *Golden Remains*, p. 446. ed. 1688. So Archbishop Bramhall, who spent some time with them: “I know there are many learned persons among them who do passionately affect Episcopacy; some of whom have acknowledged to myself, that their Church would never be rightly settled until it was new moulded.” *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, Works, vol. i. p. 164. One of their own members earnestly protests, “ce seroit une cruelle sentence de priver du bénéfice de l’Evangile et de l’union avec Christ toutes les Eglises qui vivent sous la croix, et qui ne peuvent jouir du bénéfice de l’ordre épiscopal.” *Histoire des nouveaux Presbytériens Anglois et Ecossois*, par M. F., Membre des Eglises Réformées de France, chap. xiii.

¹ “ . . . a quibus in Gallia et Belgio recessum negare non possumus.” *Vir. Erudit. Epist.* no. 257. ed. Limborch. So the Remonstrants from the Synod of Dort, being censured for speaking disrespectfully of the Genevan polity, reply, in a work which used to be attributed to Grotius himself, “We did not mean that this government which the reformed Churches have adopted is unlawful and to be condemned, only that it is not the *Apostolical* form.” *Remonstrantium Apolog. Contra Censuram*, Exam. cap. xxi. p. 231. The *Confession of Faith* of the French communities makes a similar admission; for, speaking in the 7th canon of Elders and Deacons, it says, “The office of Elders and Deacons, as it is now in use amongst us, *is not perpetual.*” Quick’s *History of the Reformed Churches in France*, vol. i. p. 28. It is hard indeed, amid the rapid and unceas-

And this, which might be indefinitely increased, may suffice in proof of the first assertion, "that the reformers did not hesitate to acknowledge freely that their condition was a defective one."

(2.) It is to be shewn, in the next place, that they also recognised the ordinary and lawful vocation, by choosing to represent their own calling as altogether extraordinary. On this point, too, Calvin and his confederates will appear to be widely separated from their successors in the present age, who, as is well known, do not scruple to assert, without any hesitation, the claims which their forefathers were so reluctant to urge.

"This office," said Calvin, "which God committed to us when He made use of our labours in the forming of Churches, *was altogether extraordinary.*"¹ In which one sentence we have a full

ing changes which these religious bodies underwent, to know at any given time what they did profess. These men, for instance, like all the rest, went on by degrees. The earlier Gallic Synods, as those of Paris, A.D. 1559, and Poitiers, A.D. 1560, decreed the observance of certain forms on pain of severe censures. By the year 1594, at the Synod of Montauban, they had advanced a little further, and resolved, "that there is no need of an express and particular form of prayer at the ordination of Ministers,"—having sometime before decreed the same even of the order of the Holy Communion! Quick, *Catalogue of French National Synods*, p. 161. But this was only the beginning of their mutations; what they came to at last, we shall see hereafter, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐνέμειναν, as S. Athanasius says of some of their predecessors; *De Synodis Arim. et Seleuc.* tom. i. p. 906.

¹ "Atque omnino extraordinarium fuit hoc munus, quod Dominus nobis injunxit, dum opera nostra ad colligendas Ecclesias usus

surrender of the whole question in dispute. And the admission is repeated by most of his brethren.

“Who are lawful Pastors?” said Beza, in conference with some of the Catholic party. “They who are lawfully called. It remains, then, to determine what is a lawful vocation. Now we assert, that there is one kind of vocation which is ordinary, and another which is extraordinary.”¹ And then, being desired by the learned Despence “to refer to a single example like his own during fifteen centuries,” he professed openly, that God’s dealings at that time by the hands of teachers like himself was “a certain extraordinary and unusual dispensation.”² The instances of “extraordinary” vocation which he cites are those of the calling of Moses and the Prophets; which, he says, is sufficient proof that there may be such a departure from the ordinary method. So that he, in common with Calvin and the whole school of inventors, did not even pretend that their preachers

est.” *Calvini Epist. exc. Sereniss. Regi Poloniae*, p. 351. “Calvin himself,” says Scrivener, “being created a Pastor without any lawful authority, was reduced to such deplorable straits, as to endeavour to fortify his own and his followers’ mission with the plea of an ‘extraordinary calling.’ In these times, said he, God stirs up extraordinary Pastors and Prophets.” *Apolog. pro Patribus Ecclesiae, contra Dallæum*, Præfat. Cf. Bayle, art. *Calvin*.

¹ “Dicimus unam esse ordinariæ vocationis formam, et aliam vocationem extraordinariam.” *Comment. de Statu Relig. sub Carolo IX.* lib. iii. p. 145.

² “Inusitata quædam et singularis ratio.” *Ibid.* p. 158. So far were they, at first, from using the language now commonly employed by their disciples.

were called by the ordinary divine appointment; but would have it believed, that it was just possible they were called after the fashion of Moses and the Prophets!

But Beza sometimes forgot to maintain this high character, and was content to pass for a common man. In one of his writings he uses the figure of a house on fire, and reasons from it thus: "Just as, at such a time, one thing alone is thought of, and every one runs to put out the flames, nor is it much heeded either who the assistants may be, or whence they come;—so, and much more at this moment, when all Christendom is on fire with intestine divisions, I judge that he is not to be censured who lends his aid in these difficulties of the Christian world, even though he go *beyond his calling*."¹ So that, after all, these pseudo-successors of the prophets are nothing more, by their own confession, than a sort of ecclesiastical firemen.²

¹ *De Pace Ecclesiæ*, ap. Scrivener. *Act. in Schismaticos Anglicanos*, p. 42.

² They seem to have resolved, however, with more prudence than consistency, to keep even this inferior office in their own hands. Thus we find Beza admonishing a less distinguished "reformer"—who was inclined to act upon this theory, and set up on his own account as a healer of the Church's troubles—that he had fallen into a mistake. He tells him that this was all very well when the faith was in peril through popery, but it is quite out of order now, when a "regular" ministry was established. "If there had been such an order," he informs his ambitious friend, "when Luther and Zuingli first began to teach, they would never, unless by command of the Church, have opened their mouths;—nusquam, nisi ab Ecclesia jussi, os in Ecclesia aperuissent;"—and *they*, he adds, possessed moreover the ordinary vocation, *Bezæ Epist. v. Alamanno Lugdunensis Ecclesiæ turbatori*.

The celebrated M. Claude, in his "Defence of the Reformation," uses similar reasoning. He quotes, out of Theodoret,¹ the answer given by a monk to the emperor Valens, to whom he excused himself for going beyond his office in opposing the Arian heresy, by saying, that "*even a girl*, if her father's house were on fire, would be justified in running for water to put it out." And then, far from attempting to defend the mission of his friends as an ordinary one, he maintains expressly, that the obligation which compelled them to witness *against* Romish corruptions constituted their vocation to witness *for* the truth.²

He was obliged, as their advocate, to say something, and perhaps this was the best he could say. His own convictions, however, were too strong to be controlled; and he concludes his argument by endeavouring to prove that, after all, many of them had the lawful ordination. "Is it not true," he asks, "that the majority of those who laboured in this reformation were ecclesiastics, whom the duties of their office obliged more especially" (every sentence is an admission) "to purify religion? Every one knows that Luther and Zuingle were not only priests, but also ordinary preachers, the one at Wittemberg, the other at Zurich, and that the former was a professor of theology. And the world is not ignorant that they who joined them-

¹ *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xxiv.

² *Défense de la Réformation*, 2^{de} partie, chap. iii. pp. 111-122.

selves to them to promote this design, were also in public offices in the Church, — as, the whole University of Wittemberg, a great number of priests and of other ecclesiastics, with bishops and archbishops in Germany, in Sweden, and in Denmark, some even in France, and the whole body of the bishops in England.”¹ And he concludes the chapter by saying, that their vocation was “ordinary,” in respect of the obligation upon all men, both lay and clerical, to preserve the faith from destruction; and “extraordinary,” in regard of the “extreme and urgent necessity which compelled them to act as they did: “à l’égard,” to use his own words, “de la nécessité extrême et indispensable qu’ils ont eue de faire ce qu’ils ont fait.”²

Now, if he or his friends had thought as our moderns do, why take all this needless trouble? Why not say boldly at once, “we had the true apostolical ordination, and we wanted no other?” But it is evident that they *did* feel their want most acutely; and it was not till their first righteous emotions of doubt and distress had passed away, that they found courage to teach new doctrines and contradict themselves.³

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 123, 4.

² *Ibid.* p. 125.

³ “Till *at length*,” as Hooker observes, “the discipline which was at the first so weak, that without the staff of their approbation, who were not subject unto it themselves, it had not brought others under subjection, began now to challenge universal obedience, and to enter into open conflict with those very churches which in desperate extremity had been relievers of it.” *E. P.* Preface, p. 173. And even Robertson gives a similar account of the progress of the

Moses Amyraut adopts the same line of defence. "Suppose," he says, "some Christian in a private station should find himself alone amongst barbarians, whom he might convert to the knowledge of Jesus Christ; we are of opinion that he would be sufficiently authorised, *by the necessity of the case*, to exercise the pastoral office. The consent of those whom he should convert being super-added, we should account his vocation complete and authentic."¹ He adds, that if afterwards he should be able to be confirmed in his charge, by communicating with some regular church, it would be very profitable;² but if this could not be, then "the law of charity, which compels every man to save his neighbour from the peril of destruction," would be a sufficient call. And even then—as if not quite satisfied himself with that opinion which he proposed to others—he says, that if "the *ordi-*

new opinions in our own country. Having remarked that "the first Puritans did not entertain any scruples with respect to the lawfulness of Episcopal government, and seem to have been very unwilling to withdraw from communion with the Church," he shews how bitter and violent feelings gradually took possession of them, until, "*by degrees*, ideas of ecclesiastical policy altogether repugnant to those of the established church gained footing in the nation. The more sober and learned Puritans inclined to that form which is known by the name of Presbyterian." He goes on to say that others "reprobated" parts of this system "as inconsistent with Christian liberty," and to describe the *gradual* decline from one folly and extravagance to another. *History of America*, book x. Works, vol. ix. pp. 305, 6.

¹ " Nous tiendrions sa vocation pour parfaite et pour authentique." Moyse Amyraut, *Apologie*, p. 277. ed. Saumur, 1647.

² "Assurément cela serviroit à l'édification commune." *Ibid.*

nary ministers" choose to undertake the work, "we must always yield to that order of things *which has been already legitimately established.*"¹ He goes on with more of the same kind; and is as good a witness for us as if we had put the words into his mouth.

Prince George of Anhalt says, that he once sent his chamberlain to the Bishop of Brandenburg, "*to request ordination at his hands;*"² and that the bishop, who leaned to the reformed doctrines, "would have performed that office for him, as he had with great good will promised to do, if God had not taken him away. And then," the Prince adds, "there was no other bishop in these parts who would consent to do this."³ They must, therefore, ordain themselves, or go without ministers. And they chose the former course.⁴

¹ p. 279. Claude makes the same remarkable admission. "Il est vray néanmoins que ce n'est, *ni ne doit estre*, la pratique commune, et que cela n'a lieu que dans des cas d'absolüe nécessité." *Défense*, 4^{eme} partie, chap. iv. p. 366. Cf. Viret, *De Minist. Verbi Dei et Sacrament.* lib. v. cap. xxiii.

² "Per sacellatum meum D. Jacobum Styrium, ad ordinandum me rogavi." Citat. ap. Durell. *Vindic. Eccles. Anglican.* cap. vii. p. 52.

³ Others seem to have been more fortunate. "Both the Prince of Turenne (a Protestant) and the Duc de la Force had their chaplains ordained by a Bishop." And then the writer, Lewis Du Moulin, adds, "let that stand as an undoubted truth, that Episcopacy is of Apostolic institution, and therefore of Divine right. *It is acknowledged even by them that want it.*" *Novelty of Popery*, Preface.

⁴ "They ordain ministers without Bishops, *because they have no Bishops.*" L. Du Moulin, *ubi supra*. And so, in their own "Confession of Faith," they excuse themselves by saying, "the state of

Labesse, a French minister, defending a thesis before the learned Lewis Capelle, at one of the conferences of Saumur, supposes the case of all the bishops and presbyters of a province, or of some particular church, being either taken away or scattered; and then he asks, whether the people ought to be left to perish, or some extraordinary remedy used to meet the case?—whether the failure of the apostolical succession might not in such a crisis be disregarded? He then emphatically denies that all the “reformers” wanted the due vocation—why? unless he judged its loss worthy of regret?—and proceeds thus: “many things are lawful, and are commended and approved, in great convulsions, whether of the civil or ecclesiastical body, which otherwise, in a peaceful, tranquil, and *well-ordered* state of things, *would not be lawful, nor might be lawfully attempted.*”¹

the Church being interrupted, God hath raised up some persons in an extraordinary manner.” Art. xxxi. Quick’s *History*, vol. i. p. 13.

¹ Vide *Thes. Salmur.* pars ii. *De Ministrorum Evangelicorum Vocatione*, pp. 283, 286, 292. No opinion has been expressed upon the kind of defence here alleged by these persons, nor is it necessary to offer one. The tendency of their principles is now a matter of history. The limitations under which they were first proposed, however sagaciously contrived, were not very likely to be accepted by men who had no concern in framing them. And this the event almost immediately proved. The countless sects which were generated in the rank soils from which Calvinism and Lutheranism had already sprung, were willing enough to accept their example, but only so far as it might serve to extenuate their own more extravagant lawlessness. “Proclivis est enim malorum æmulatio,” says St. Jerome; “et quorum virtutes assequi nequeas, cito imitaris vitia.”

Referring to what he calls—with too much truth, as we shall see—“the horrible corruptions” of Rome, he asks, who would not justify the power assumed by his friends, “although it be *beyond and contrary to the received order?*”

One example more. “We do not deny,” say the advocates of the Synod of Dort, “that in the first institution of the Church, when there is no order, or during its restoration, *when that order has fallen into ruin*, some new method, which shall take the place of the ordinary vocation, may be attempted; but this will be out of order; and that which is extraordinary, whether wholly or in part, *cannot in any degree prejudice that which is ordinary.*”¹

And now, if our second proposition be not yet proved, it cannot at least be for lack of evidence. It is plain enough, surely, what these divines, who did not even pretend to claim the ordinary calling

And when the Anabaptists appealed to Luther, “not doubting,” as the historian says, “that he who had first preached ‘the liberty of the Gospel’ would pronounce in their favour,”—Maimbourg, ann. 1526—they had certainly some reason to be astonished at a reply which seemed to involve the formal renunciation of one of the first principles of his “reformation.” “Let the Senate ask this man,” said he, when giving advice about the pretensions of Muncer, “who called him; and if he shall answer, God; *let them charge him to prove his calling by some manifest sign*”—which, added Luther, if he cannot do, let him be repudiated as an impostor. Sleidan, lib. v. ann. 1525. This surely was an unkind judgment upon his own friends and associates: but they who teach novelties cannot venture to be consistent.

¹ *Censur. in Remonstrant. Synodo de Dort.* in cap. xxi. pp. 274, 5.

in their own case, would have said of the "vocation" of certain persons amongst ourselves.¹

(3.) Our third assertion—that the acts of the

¹ Or if there be still any doubt, we may judge by what they actually *have* said.

We find Calvin, for instance, rebuking the English sectaries at Francfort, and asking indignantly, "what cause for quarrelling *they* could have, unless it was that they were ashamed to yield to their betters." *Epist.* cc. p. 377. And again, advising the Protector Somerset to make short work with "the seditious" fanatics in England, and "to coerce them with the sword of justice." *Epist.* lxxxvii. *Protectori Angliæ*, p. 181.

Beza not only condemned the "ordinations" of the same sectaries, but protested that "the idea of their exercising the ministry against the will of the King *and the Bishops* was monstrous;" with much more to the same effect. *Epist.* xii. *Ad quosdam Anglicanos*. Cf. *Epist.* xxiii. *Ad Grindallum*.

Gualter and Bullinger pointedly "disowned the Puritans" of England, defending the Church against them, and calling them "schismatics." See Strype's *Life of Parker*, vol. ii. p. 112; and *Histoire des Nouveaux Presbytériens*, chap. xv. p. 137. Grotius defined them to be "certain obstinate fellows, who think nothing right but what they do themselves." *Ordin. Holland. et Westfrisæ Pietas*, pp. 65 and 113. John Diodati wrote from Geneva, in the name of that community, and in reply to the Presbyterians of the Westminster Assembly, rejecting their offers of friendship, and sternly condemning their principles; or, as one has briefly described it, "Diodati wrote firm for Episcopal government from Geneva, and accused the Presbyterians of schism." *Life of Bishop Hacket*, p. 25, ed. 1675. Diodati's letter, which contains enthusiastic commendations of the Anglican Church, is entitled *Responsum ad Conventum Ecclesiasticum Londini congregatum*, 1647. Another Genevan Professor, the learned Turretin, repeats the charge of "schism." *Histor. Ecclesiast. Compend.* secul. xvi. p. 384, Genevæ, 1736. Lewis Capelle, who was represented to Cardinal Barberini by Morin as a very champion of Protestantism—Morini *Epist.* lxxxii. p. 431—speaks with open contempt of their doings, especially of their "so-called Directory," and of their rejection of Bishops: apud Durell. *Ad Apologistæ Præfat. Respons.* Bochart, De l'Angle, Amyraut, Vincent, Heraut, and many others, "wrote publicly," to use the

“reformers” were nevertheless defended as *necessary*, by reason of the intolerable corruptions and tyranny of Rome—has been already partly proved, and will no doubt be very readily admitted. Yet

strong words of a writer already quoted, “against these men, to testify the horror in which the Reformed Churches of France held their sentiments and their actions.” *Histoire des nouveaux Presbytériens*, chap. xii. Cf. *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cælum*, cap. vii. p. 118, ed. Hagæ, 1652. Even the violent Salmasius derided these people, openly ridiculed their affectation of sanctity, and declared that “the French and Swiss Protestants regarded the state of England under their rule as *Antichristian*, and worse than the papistical religion itself,”—which was the severest reproach such a man could speak; *Ad Miltonum Respons.* cap. i. pp. 43 and 101, cap. iii. p. 326. And lastly, the ‘Remonstrants’ from the Synod of Dort protest against being thought “so presumptuous as to reject the Anglican polity, or so schismatical as to justify the Puritan.” *Apol. contra Censuram*, p. 233. So much for the sympathy of the foreign communities with English Presbyterians. Next for the Independents.

Diodati calls the title assumed by these sectaries “*teterrimum nomen* ;” *ubi supra*. Even Blondel says they were “a scandal to the Protestant name ;” *Apolog.* Præfat. p. 71. Morell, the leader of the Independents, was excommunicated by Calvin, Beza, and the whole of the Genevan doctors; Durell, cap. xxxi. p. 414. The entire sect was similarly condemned by the French communion with terms of extreme indignation, in the 3d Synod of Charenton; quoted by Bingham, *The French Church's Apology for the Church of England*, Works, vol. viii. book i. ch. i. And even the Lutheran Stockmann puts the Brownists in his catalogue of “heretics :” vide Pauli Stockmanni *Lexicon Hæresium*, p. 856. So that whereas Milton, in his *Defensio Populi*, endeavoured to identify the principles of foreign Protestants with those of his own party, Bishop Horsley does not hesitate to say, “a grosser falsehood never fell from the unprincipled pen of a party writer ;” Appendix to his *Sermon before the House of Lords*, quoted in Todd's *Life of Milton*, p. 129. And it is a very significant fact, that when the Presbyterian Assembly of Westminster sent letters to seventeen foreign communities, the replies which they actually received—for by some of these bodies no answer was vouchsafed—were almost all carefully hushed up : vide *Hist. des nouveaux Presb.* ch. xiii. p. 112.

there is no circumstance, perhaps, in their whole history which serves more effectually to distinguish them from the separatists of our own age than the fact of their having so strenuously urged this simple and obvious plea ; and for this reason some further illustrations shall now be added, of the use which they were accustomed to make of it. I will quote first some additional remarks of the eloquent M. Claude.

After professing an earnest desire for the restoration of Catholic Unity, and lamenting the subtleties with which the Court of Rome was still combating the almost universal prayer for ecclesiastical reform,¹ he says : “ But what could be expected from a body which had almost entirely abandoned the care of religion and the salvation of souls, which was absorbed in intrigues and secular pursuits, and which studiously kept the people in ignorance of the mysteries of the Gospel ? Our fathers were persuaded that Christianity was tending to utter decay, and, moreover, *they had no longer any hope of remedy, neither from Rome nor from the Prelates ;* for the Court of Rome, with all its partisans, had firmly pronounced against the Reformation, asserting that the Church of Rome could not err ; and as to the Prelates, they had all a servile attachment to the will of the Popes.”² There was nothing, therefore, to hope from either quarter. But what

¹ *Défense de la Réformation*, Epître.

² 2^{de} partie, ch. i. p. 90, and ch. iii. pp. 111, 12.

if there had been ? “ I confess,” says Claude, “ that if the Court of Rome and its Clergy would have joined with good faith in the work of the Reformation, our fathers *ought to have received it at their hands.*”¹ Now it was uniformly maintained by these divines, as we shall see, that that “ work ” *was* gloriously consummated in England, and the Prelates of that Church were lauded by them as the ornaments of Christendom. Let it be considered, then, what sort of sympathy they would have professed with men who are schismatics from that very Church which *they* so warmly commended ; whereas they themselves would not have separated even from Rome, if a reformation had been granted them.

Again ; having protested that it was “ neither upon *questions of discipline*, nor upon scholastic questions, nor upon personal interests,” that their separation had been founded, he adds, “ the articles which separate us are such as, in our judgment, affect *the very substance of the Faith.*” And then—that there may be no room for doubt as regards the point upon which he is here cited, after enumerating certain matters of belief, in which is included “ the superiority of bishops over presbyters by divine right ”—he says expressly, “ *these could not have sufficed* to produce a rupture of unity.”²

¹ Chap. iv. p. 122 ; and Peter Viret, much to the same effect, *De Minist. Verb. Dei et Sacrament.* lib. viii. cap. iii.

² 3^{eme} partie, chap. i. p. 210.

Lastly, when engaged in the formal defence of the final act of separation, the precedent upon which he professes to rely for justification is this,—that the Catholics of the fourth century thought it their duty to separate from the Arians!¹ “And if,” he adds, “it should be replied, that that movement was sanctioned by many *Bishops*, we may say the very same thing of the party of the Reformation, in which it is well known that there was a great number of *pious and learned Prelates*.”² For ourselves we have no wish, as we have certainly no need, to appeal to M. Claude, or to any of his school; what others will answer to him, who have been accustomed to claim his alliance, is their concern.

Melancthon may be heard next. “That I may avow my own opinion,” said he, “I wish that I were able, not indeed to confirm the tyranny, but to restore the government of the Bishops; for I see what sort of a Church we are likely to have, if the Ecclesiastical Polity be dissolved. I see that there will be hereafter a far more intolerable tyranny than there ever was before.”³ He then refers

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 218-222. And the comparison, whatever we may now think of it, was in those days considered a just one. Coelius confidently applies it; *Hæret. Papat.* p. 161, ed. Basileæ: and Pfeffinger defends the application of Gal. i. 8, and kindred passages of Holy Scripture, to the Roman Church; *Disput. de Grad. Minist.* Art. xxxi. Cf. Melancth. *Script. in Convent. Schmalcaldens.*, and Calvin, *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. ii. § 9.

² p. 122.

³ It is scarcely necessary to say that Melancthon's prediction has

to the judgment of certain distinguished and influential Protestants as coinciding with his own, and adds, "how, indeed, can we lawfully violate the government of the Church, if the Bishops grant to us what it is just that they should concede?"¹ Now Melancthon declared that the English Bishops *had* done this; and judged that, "if there were *more such Bishops*, there would be no difficulty in maintaining unity, nor in preserving the Church."² Our brethren, however, are of another mind.

"That we have not received the imposition of hands," was Beza's answer to the Catholics, "nor were appointed by those whom ye style the *ordinary* pastors, ought not to appear at all wonderful,

been fulfilled in every country where the Genevan discipline has been set up. And so well was this characteristic of the presbyterians understood by their kinsfolk in schism, that we find Brown, the inventor of 'Independentism,' saying, "As for the Episcopal government, though he did not approve of it, yet that being well settled by a long continuance, he did not think it was rashly and of a sudden to be abolished; and that this was a burthen so much the more easily to be borne, by how much men's necks had been long accustomed to it;—but to be lorded over by *Classes* and *Elders* was not only a new but an intolerable yoke." Quoted by Dr. Nicholls, *Defence of the Church of England*, p. 35. And when, in their turn, the Independents got the upper hand, then the Presbyterians complained, that "whereas formerly this nation was called the Pope's and Prelates' asses, we may now justly be called the Independents' mules." Bastwick's *Utter Routing of Independents and Sectaries*, Epistle to the reader.

¹ *Hist. Confess. August.* ap. Durell. Cf. Art. xx. of that Confession.

² " . . . quales si haberet Ecclesia aliquanto plures, non difficulter et concordia orbis terrarum constitui, et servari Ecclesia posset." *Episcopo Cantuariensi*, p. 193. Cf. *Epist. ad Campegius Cardinalem*, p. 147.

seeing that in so great disorder of all things in the Roman Church, we were unwilling to receive imposition of hands from them, whose vices, superstition, and false doctrine we condemned, and who were the open enemies of the truth.”¹ But this same Beza said of the *English* Church, “As to what concerns *your* faith and doctrine, received by public consent and confirmed by royal authority, I suppose there is no man that thinks rightly of these matters but will embrace it as true and certain.”² And further, “he inveighs against those, as ‘impudent slanderers,’ who should report him to have detracted any thing from the dignity of Episcopacy in *this* Church.”³

J. Brentius, a leading man amongst the same persons, referring to the decree of Theodosius, that “men should embrace that religion which was taught by the Apostles, and *confessed by holy Bishops*,” says, “this was wise, for the Bishops alluded to—Pope Damasus and Peter of Alexandria—were holy men; but we now speak of Pontiffs and Bishops who teach and profess an impious religion. Let them give us men like Damasus and Peter, who follow the true and pure doctrine of the Apostle Peter, and they shall find us not only hearers, but fellow-workers too.”⁴ And that if the

¹ Vide *Comment. de Statu Relig. sub Carolo IX.* lib. iii. p. 157.

² *Epist.* viii. cited by Bingham, vol. viii. bk. ii. ch. i.

³ See Morton's *Episcopacy asserted Apostolical*, ch. i. § 1.

⁴ J. Brentii *De Officio Principum*, Prolegom. p. 77, ed. Francofurt. 1556.

Roman Bishops had been such men, this controversy about discipline would never even have been raised, is plain enough from the next words of Brentius. "The Theodosian law," he says, "commends *that Apostolic discipline* which the Apostle Peter delivered, and *which Damasus and Peter of Alexandria followed;*"¹ but Damasus and Peter, who administered what Brentius truly calls this "apostolic discipline," were both of them Archbishops.

"If they wish to be acknowledged for Bishops," said Calvin, "let them discharge their office by feeding the people. If they would *retain* the power of institution and ordination, let them restore that just and grave scrutiny of doctrine and manners which has now for many ages ceased to be practised among them."² And if they had done this, as the English Bishops *did*, Calvin would have "acknowledged" them, or else he must have stood convicted out of his own mouth.

Again: at a conference appointed by the Emperor, at which Bucer, Melancthon, and John Pisterius assisted, the question of Episcopacy was

¹ *Ibid.* p. 80. And in accordance with this, their Apologist, in reply to the question, "If they allow the state of Bishop, why then did they banish their Catholic Bishops?" says, "they banished the Popish Bishops, not because they were Bishops, but because they were Popish." The notion of rejecting Bishops altogether, he says, they utterly repudiated. See Francis Mason's *Ordinations of the Ministers of the Reformed Churches beyond the seas maintained against the Romanists*. Cf. Davenant. *De Pace Ecclesiastica*, p. 8.

² *De Reformanda Ecclesia*.

one of the six subjects upon which they came to full accord with the Catholics; it was on others, as the true doctrine of the Eucharist, that they differed.¹ The whole controversy, from first to last, turned not upon discipline, but upon doctrine.

“The Bishops,” says another document, which was vehemently approved by Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, and all the heads of their party, “*may easily retain the submission due to them, if they would not compel us to keep traditions which cannot with a good conscience be observed.*”²

“I wish,” said another eminent person, in very similar language, “that as they bear the names and titles, so they would in very deed shew themselves to be Bishops of the Church. How willingly, if they would faithfully rule the Churches, and with what joyfulness of heart, should we (in that case) consent to acknowledge them as Bishops, to reverence them, to comply with their authority, to recognise their rightful jurisdiction and *ordination*, and without any reluctance to make use of it.”³

The Bishops being, however, such as they were,

¹ Vide Maimbourg, *Histoire du Luthéranisme*, ann. 1541.

² *Confess. Augustan.* cap. *De Potestate Ecclesiæ*. Seckendorff quotes Luther's approval of this Confession, as a token of his willingness to submit to the Bishops; and says, that it was only “when he despaired” of procuring their sanction of his opinions, that he “asserted the right of choosing ministers without them.” *Histor. Lutheranismi*, tom. ii. p. 156; and see tom. i. p. 115, for some strong language on the same point.

³ Georg. Princ. Anhalt. *De Ordinatio*. Præfat.

or as they were conceived to be, “unless we separate ourselves,” said Bucer, “from such false and impious rulers of the Church, whose whole life is defiled with the most infamous crimes,¹ we should transgress the commandment of the Lord. So judged and wrote with great severity that blessed martyr and bishop, Cyprian; and in this all the holy Fathers agree with him, as well in the decrees of the Councils as in their own private writings.”² But what said Bucer of *our* spiritual Rulers? “We shall diligently supplicate the Lord,” was his declaration to one of their number, “that your happy lot, *in rejoicing in true Bishops*, He may both daily confirm in your own realm, *and also extend it in common to other kingdoms.*”³

¹ Although we must make great allowance for the intemperate exaggerations of these writers, yet it is rather the coarseness and virulence of their language than the truth of their statements against which exception is to be taken. We are, however, only concerned here to shew that they did make these statements in their own defence. That the corruptions of the Roman Church at the period of the Reformation were unspeakably great, it is not, indeed, difficult to prove; but this fact, whether it justified the first Protestants or not, serves only the more to condemn our modern sectaries, because they do not even pretend to such a defence of their separation. On the way in which it used to be urged, see Brentii *Prolegom.* p. 75; Calvini *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. ii. § 10; Viret. *De Minist. Verbi Dei et Sacrament.* lib. viii. cap. iii.; Zuinglii *De Vera et Falsa Religione*, p. 303; Bucan. *Institut. Theolog.* De Ministerio, loc. 48; Œcolampadii *Epist. Gaspar. Hedioni*, p. 13; *Apolog. Confess. Ducis Wirtenberg.* De Ordine, p. 648; Chemnitz. *Exam. Decret. Concil. Trident.* cap. viii. tom. iii.; *De Cæl. Sacerdot.* cap. ii.

² *De Animarum Cura*, Præfat. p. 162.

³ *In Sacra Evangelia Præfat.*; and see his *Gratulatio ad Ecclesiam Angliæ.*

“Our churches,” writes another distinguished Protestant teacher, “did not embrace the presbyterian discipline from dislike of Episcopacy, or because it seemed to us to be opposed to the Gospel, or to be less profitable to the Church, or less suitable to the condition of the Lord’s true fold”—all these *modern* heresies he rejects—“but *because they were compelled by necessity*. If the Bishops would have sanctioned the Reformation, that their order would have been preserved in the government of the Church, I hold for certain.”¹ And then he gives the best possible reason for his opinion, by shewing that when the Bishops did consent to that movement, they *were* gladly received as their rulers by the Protestant party.

And here—not for lack of witnesses, but of leisure to hear them—we must conclude.² And

¹ Drelincourt, *Letter to Brevint*, quoted by Durell, cap. xxxiv. pp. 517, 18. So Luther, as a modern writer notices, “urged Melancthon to restore Episcopacy in every place where the Bishop granted the free use of the Protestant doctrine.” *Bampton Lecture* for 1832, *Sermon* ii. p. 85, note. “And generally,” says Bramhall, “all Reformed Churches were desirous to have retained Episcopacy, if the Bishops that then were would have joined with them in the Reformation. This is evident for the German Churches, by the Augustan Confession and Apology, that Bishops might easily retain their places if they would;—they *protest* they are not guilty of the diminution of Episcopal authority,” &c. *The Serpent Salve*, p. 604.

² Because it would be endless even to refer to the unnumbered admissions on this point. There is a remarkable passage in the writings of Chemnitz which may be consulted—*Harmon. Evang.* cap. clxxiii. pp. 836, 7. ed. Gerhard; the whole chapter pointing at *Romish* corruptions. Arminius, too, professes to grieve at the schism, and, like all the rest, to justify it by the “idolatry” of Popery, and the “tyranny” of the Pope; *Arminii Disput. Theolog.* thesis xxii.

the only comment upon their evidence shall be in the words of one of their own friends. “They who read with attention,” says Le Clerc, “the histories of that century (the sixteenth) are fully satisfied that this latter form of government (the presbyterian) was introduced *for this reason only*—because the Bishops would not allow to them, who contended that the doctrine and manners of Christians stood in need of necessary amendment, that those things should be reformed which they complained were corrupted. *Otherwise*, if the Bishops every where, at that time, had been willing to do, of their own accord, what was not long after done in England, *that government had prevailed even to this day amongst all those who separated from the*

§ 13, 14, 15. pp. 213-15. See also *Expos. Exact. Synod. Witebergæ*, De Ministris Ecclesiæ, where it is professed on the part of all the divines of that city and neighbourhood, that “all Bishops who teach the word of God, and suffer it to be taught, ought to *ordain*, and to receive the submission and obedience of *all the other Ministers* of the churches.” The same thing was declared in the name of the whole Protestant party at the Ratisbon Conference, in the year 1541; and the language then employed in recognising the Episcopal pre-eminence is so emphatic, that it would abundantly suffice for the purpose of this argument to refer to that one example alone: vide Goldast. *Constitut. Imperial.* tom. ii. p. 204, ed. Francofurt. 1673. Seckendorff gives it as the *general sentiment* of the Protestant theologians, that the Bishops must retain their office, if they would discharge it purely; *Histor. Lutheranismi*, tom. i. p. 176. Cf. Sleidan. lib. xiii. ann. 1540. p. 213. And see the *Professio Fidei Fratrum Waldensium*, De Sacerdotii Ordine; and the *Confess. Fratr. Bohemorum*, apud F. Spanhemii *Epitom. Isagog. ad Hist. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 827:—but, in truth, they never dreamed of rejecting Episcopacy, until it became a question, whether the Bishops should eject them, or they preserve their own power by casting out the Bishops.

Romish Church; and the numberless calamities which happened, when all things were disturbed and confounded, had then been prevented.”¹

These earlier separatists, then, did not even pretend to use the reasonings of our moderns, nor to assert any other ground of justification but that of invincible necessity. “We do embrace all faithful Bishops with all reverence,” was their own repeated declaration; “neither do we, as some *falsely* object against us, propose our example to any other Church to be followed.”² And so well was this understood, both by Romanists³ and Anglicans,

¹ *On the Choice of an Opinion amongst the different Sects of Christians*, book i. § 11; appended to Dr. Clarke’s translation of Grotius, *De Veritate*, &c. p. 318.

² Bezæ *Respons. ad Sarav. De Divers. Grad. Minist.* cap. xxi. To which may be annexed, as a final testimony, the well-known confession of the Protestant divines at the Synod of Dort; who, when Bishop Carleton frankly told them, that the want of Episcopacy was the source of all their evils and divisions, made the following reply: “That they had a great honour for the good order and discipline in the Church of England, *and heartily wished they could establish themselves upon this model*; but since they had no prospect of such a happiness, and since *the civil government had made their desires impracticable*, they hoped God would be merciful to them.” Vide Collier’s *Ecclesiastical History*, part ii. book viii. p. 718. The author of the Remonstrant “Apology” says, that John Polyander, Thysius, and Walæus—all men of note at that time—were present, and joined in making this confession to Bishop Carleton; *Apolog. contra Censuram*, p. 233.

³ Vide Maimbourg, ann. 1530; Spondani *Annal. Ecclesiast.* ann. 1530; Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, Pref. p. 31; and Gregory De Valentia, who says, “all the Protestants but the Anabaptists acknowledge *three* orders—*tres saltem*—of ministers;” and then he describes their notions of them; *Comment. Theolog. Disp. ix. De Sac. Ord.* tom. iv. p. 1645, ed. Lugdun. 1603. De Mezeray, too, seems to have been so little sus-

that we find intelligent and well-informed persons expressing their astonishment at the rise of the new opinions. "I have often wondered," says Sir Henry Yelverton, "how it comes to pass that the sacred order of Bishops should in this island meet with so many unreasonable adversaries, when in all the reformed churches beyond the seas we are counted *the only happy nation* who enjoy the purity of doctrine with the primitive government."¹ And Hadrian Saravia,—who, by his familiar acquaintance with the continental divines, and his long residence amongst them, was still better qualified to speak on this subject,—professes himself quite taken by surprise, when Beza first ventured to defend on principle that Genevan polity which, as he observes, "was avowedly contrived only as a temporary makeshift."² But enough, surely, has

picious of their desire to reject all Bishops, that, speaking of the affair of the Archbishop of Cologne, he says, it concerned *the reputation of the Protestant party* to maintain him in his archbishopric; ann. 1583. p. 766. And lastly, when it was proposed at the Council of Trent, that the divine origin of Episcopacy should be formally asserted, it was answered by one of the Cardinal Legates, that it was unnecessary to do so, as that point was not amongst those which were disputed by the Lutherans. Vide Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, tome vi. p. 527; and Father Paul's *History*, lib. vi. ch. xi.

¹ See his *Preface* to Bp. Morton's *Episcopacy asserted Apostolical*.

² *De Divers. Grad. Minist.*, Lectori. Saravia remarks, cap. vii., that he had always suspected "this device of mere necessity would in time be put forward as the true primitive discipline;" and so he, in common with Grabe and others, forsook his uncongenial associates, and sought refuge in the bosom of the Anglican Church.

now been said to shew, that in this respect, as in others already noticed, the separatists of our age are almost as far removed from those of the sixteenth century as they from the Catholic Church.

(4.) It remains to be shewn, in the last place, that the line of defence adopted by the first leaders of the Calvinistic and Lutheran sects, and illustrated in the foregoing citations, has received the only sanction of which it was capable, in the copious and humiliating confessions of the most devoted adherents to the chair of Rome.

And keenly painful as it must be to Catholic sympathies to dwell, even for a moment, on such a subject, it would be an additional grief to be supposed to do so in that temper of unreasoning hostility which has so long prevailed amongst us. If the errors which we have been taught to discern in the Roman Church be such as the widest charity cannot conceal or deny;¹ if her degenerate sons have, as we suppose, dishonoured the holy Fathers of blessed memory, profaned by irreverent definitions the "tremendous mysteries" of our religion,

¹ "We do not (however) maintain that the Roman Church itself is fallen to ruin and desolation; we grant it a true metaphysical being, though not a true moral being; we hope their errors are rather in superstructures than in fundamentals; we do not say that the plants of saving truth, which are common to you and us, are plucked up by the roots in the Roman Church, but we say that they are overgrown with weeds, and in danger to be choked." Bramhall, *Answer to De la Miltière*, vol. i. p. 30.

and in their zeal to expose “the fair beauty” of the Spouse of Christ, torn away the veil which screened her comeliness from common eyes; if they have substituted a particular Church of the day for the Church Catholic of all ages, and the decrees of individual Popes for “the faith once delivered to the saints;” if they have multiplied devices “to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live,”—*we* at least in all this have no cause for rejoicing. Our own position, as a lonely and isolated people,¹ is without parallel or precedent in the history of the Church of Christ. We have reason enough ourselves, if we did but know it, to be putting on the vestments of mourning.² And if we are ever again to be at one with our brethren, whom no estrangement can separate from our affections, it must be by mutual confession and mutual repentance,—by laying aside, like our fathers of old,³ the instru-

¹ *Móvos ἴθι*, was the expressive rebuke once addressed to men with whom we have nothing in common but our unwilling separation from the rest of Christendom. Vide S. Cyril. Alex. *Adv. Nestor.* lib. ii. tom. vi. p. 60. “Non enim separatio facit schisma,” says Cassander, “sed causa;” and we comfort ourselves with the assurance, “aliud esse *statum*, aliud *crimen* schismatis.” Thorndike, *De Rat. ac Jure finiend. Controv.* p. 372.

² “Lugent cuncta, *tu lætus es*; non miror plane, non miror, tibi evenisse mala quæ consecuta sunt.” Salvian. *De Gubernat. Dei*, lib. vi. p. 144. “Noli ergo,” was the admonition of another, “in comparatione multitudinis gentium catholicarum *de vestra paucitate gloriari* ;” Aug. *Contra Cresconium*, lib. iv. cap. liii. When shall we learn to confess, that separation from the whole Christian world, even though it be our duty to abide in it, is *not* a matter of rejoicing?

³ Psalm cxxxvii.

ments of mirth, and desiring, like them, in the day of their penance, to “*prefer Jerusalem*” above every joy, and for her sake to resign the vain and carnal fancies which have beguiled us of our true riches, and darkened for a while the glories of our inheritance.

In citing the following passages, then, it is designed chiefly to explain and account for the reasonings which, as we have seen above, were so confidently urged by the “reformed” teachers. And this, surely, is a sufficient object. Because it is evident, that the very admissions which tend, in whatever degree, to *their* justification, do but augment, in exactly the same proportion, the wilfulness of later sectaries. The concessions which serve to palliate the reluctant sins of the first Protestants are only an additional condemnation of their more lawless descendants, who “run” eagerly into “the same excess of riot,” but who—in this country at least—have no such concessions to plead.

The proximate cause of the great schism of the sixteenth century, the *fons et origo mali*, was the famous decree of Leo X. about Indulgences, in the year 1517, and the mode in which that decree was carried into effect by the officials of the Roman Obedience. That the remonstrances of Luther on this matter were, in the outset, just and wise, has been generally admitted by Romanists themselves.

“Martin Luther,” says one of their distinguished annalists, “taking occasion from *no small abuses*, which, in the promulgation of these Indulgences, and the collection of money-payments, were accustomed through avarice and imprudence to be committed, began to inveigh against them. And from these sparks burst forth the flames, which, either by the revocation of the money-exactions, — *which were in no degree diminished, but, on the contrary, augmented by these events*, — or by a moderate sprinkling of water, might have been extinguished. And this the celebrated Cardinal Sadolet acknowledged and lamented; saying, that much was done in this cause by the Catholic party which was ill-suited to such a crisis, *neither was recourse had to any of the prudent remedies which were necessary in so great an evil*.” Spondon adds his own confirmation of the Cardinal’s sentiments, and frankly admits that “*the vast corruption of the manners of the clergy was Luther’s chief auxiliary*.”¹

A similar account of the same event is given by the historiographer of France. “The questors — who were appointed to sell the Indulgences — furnished Luther,” says De Mezeray, “with but too much matter. For they made traffic and mer-

¹ Spondan. *Annal. Ecclesiast.* ann. 1517. tom. ii. pp. 327, 8: “Patrocinate ei maxime grandi morum Cleri corruptione,” are the words used by Spondon. Elsewhere he describes the same body as “Clerus corruptissimus,” ann. 1524: and again he speaks of “the Bishops and Clergy, who, by their profligate living, indolent sloth, or gross ignorance, were the occasion of this catastrophe;” ann. 1525, p. 375: and these heavy charges he repeats again and again.

chandise of those sacred treasures of the Church, they kept their courts or shops in taverns, and consumed great part of what they gained or collected in debauches. And it was certainly known besides, that the Pope intended to apply considerable sums to his own proper use.”¹ This is an evil picture; but that which follows is far worse. “And truly,” continues the same writer, “the extreme ignorance of the clergy, many of them scarce able to read, the scandalous lives of the pastors, most of them concubinaries, drunkards, and usurers, and their total negligence, gave him a fair advantage to persuade the people that the religion they taught was corrupt, since their lives and examples were so bad.”² It was not indeed wonderful, that the

¹ “A suscitargli nuovamente in Germania aveva dato occasione l'autorità della Sedia Apostolica, usata troppo licenziosamente da Leone, il quale seguitando nelle grazie, che sopra le cose spirituali, e benefiziali concede la Corte, il consiglio di Lorenzo Pucci Cardinale di Santi Quattro, aveva sparso per tutto il mondo, senza distinzione di tempi, e di luoghi, indulgenze amplissime non solo per poter giovare con esse a quegli, che ancora sono nella vita presente, ma con facoltà di potere, oltre a questo, liberare le anime dei defunti dalle pene del Purgatorio. Le quali cose non avendo in se nè verisimilitudine, nè autorità alcuna, aveva concitato in molti luoghi indegnazione, e scandalo assai. Ma non si astenne da molte cose di pessimo esempio, e che dannate ragionevolmente da lui, erano molestissime a tutti.” Guicciardini, *Istorie d'Italia*, lib. xiii.

² De Mezeray, *History of France*, ann. 1517, pp. 562, 3, ed. Bulteel. The same writer, referring to the well-known confessions of Marillac Archbishop of Vienne, Montluc Bishop of Valence, and others, says, that “in France the Bishopricks, the Abbeyes, and Collegiate Churches, were often in the hands of military officers;” and that these words used to be heard in their mouths, ‘My Bishoprick,’ ‘my Abbey,’ ‘my Canons,’ &c. p. 960. Cf. Hallam, *Europe during the Middle Ages*, ch. vii. vol. ii. p. 248; and *Histoire des derniers Troubles de France*, livre iv. p. 162 (ed. 1604).

people, not accustomed to discriminate between the office and the individuals who thus defiled it, should have made the reflection for themselves, which is here made for them by another.

Again: the corruption which was so deep and extensive, appears also to have been of long standing. It was the complaint of the ambassador Du Ferrier, on the part of France, in the year 1563, that “there are *more than one hundred and fifty years past* since the most Christian kings have demanded of the popes a reformation of the ecclesiastical discipline.”¹ And the reformation said to have been so long desired, had been admitted to be necessary by Pope Alexander IV. so far back as the year 1259; that pontiff having rebuked at that time the “*ædissima scandala*” of the Church, and bidden the rulers not to suffer the inferior clergy “*to become examples to the people of public iniquity.*”² And things had obviously been getting worse and worse since that period, until at length

¹ Father Paul’s *History of the Council of Trent*, book viii. p. 721, Brent’s translation; and see the proofs in De Thou, quoted by Claude, *Défense*, partie ii. ch. i. p. 95. Dr. White quotes “their own friends, as testifying that their Church had been *for many ages* notoriously defiled with the enormities of vices;” *Answer to a Jesuit*, pp. 111, 112: and Tillotson refers to Genebrard, *Chronic.* lib. iv., who says, “that for almost 150 years together, about 50 Popes did utterly degenerate from the virtue of their ancestors;” *Rule of Faith*, part iii. § 7. p. 718, Works, ed. 1699: and the Archbishop produces many similar testimonies, from Roman Catholic writers, from the 10th to the 16th century inclusive.

² “Publici sceleris exemplum in populos transfundere.” Vide Raynaldi *Annal. Eccles.* ann. 1259.

another pope was constrained to make from his chair the miserable confession: "I know for how many years past there has been much to be abhorred in the holy see,—abuses in spiritual things, excesses even in things lawful, and, in fine, all things perverted to evil: nor is it wonderful that sickness in the head should have extended to the limbs, and been communicated from the supreme pontiffs to the other inferior prelates." And so Adrian goes on to promise that he would give his zealous co-operation — "nos omnem operam adhibituros" — towards effecting the required reformation.¹ It is painful to know that this good resolve was thwarted; the prelates and the Roman court generally having taken great disgust at a pontiff with such unusual views; and his successor, Clement VII., being of a very different character.²

The admissions of Pope Adrian are, however, the more important, because, as a modern historian observes, in somewhat disrespectful terms, "no pope was ever more bigoted or inflexible with regard to points of doctrine than Adrian," — to which, this writer adds, "he adhered with the zeal of a theologian, and with the tenaciousness of a disputant." And yet even such a ruler did not hesitate to "acknowledge, in the most explicit

¹ Citat. ap. Seckendorff, tom. i. pp. 254, 5.

² Vide Onuphrius, *De Vita Pontif. Hadriani VI.* p. 355. There is a very gracious letter of Adrian's to Zuingle in the *Life* of the latter by Oswald Myconius.

terms, the corruptions of the Roman court to be the source from which had flowed most of the evils which the Church now felt or dreaded."¹

Nor was he alone in his honest but humiliating confession. "How shall we pretend," was a question addressed to Pope Paul III. by men no less eminent than the Cardinals Contarini, Caraffa, Sadolet, and Reginald Pole,—“how shall we pretend to heal in other men the faults which are conspicuous amongst ourselves far beyond all others?”²

“I do not deny,” said another, after offering an apology for the Roman Church, “that that same Church is far gone from her ancient beauty and splendour, deformed by many disorders and blemishes, and at times miserably oppressed by the tyranny of her rulers.”³

“There is at this day,” said Cardinal Otho, “a vast number of pastors in the Church who are

¹ Robertson's *History of Charles V.* book iii. vol. ii. pp. 244, 5.

² Citat. ap. Sleidan. lib. xii. ann. 1537, p. 193. Spondon mentions the appointment of the same persons, with others, as a commission to reform “the depraved manners of the clergy.” Ann. 1537, p. 446.

³ “Quamvis non inficior, eandem illam Ecclesiam a prisco suo illo decore et splendore non parum diversam, multisque morbis et vitiis deformatam, nonnunquam et gubernatorum tyrannide miserabiliter pressam.” Cassander, *De Officio Pii Viri*, p. 786, ed. Paris. 1616. So Onuphrius speaks of the “Apostolicæ Sedis decus pæne obscuratum;” *In Vita Pontif. Marcelli II.*: and generally, of the Church, at the epoch of the reformation, as “fœdis abusibus corrupta.” The same testimony, for earlier periods, may be seen even in Platina, *Vitæ Pontificum*.

‘workers of iniquity;’ men who attain to the Episcopate rather by the favour of princes than their own merits; such as the prophet spoke of when he said,”¹ &c.

So much on the evils which *produced* the “reformation:” the progress of that movement is accounted for, even by a Jesuit, on this ground, — “that the ecclesiastics, who were for the most part greatly corrupted, and the monks, who were weary of their profession, heard with extreme satisfaction the preaching of that doctrine of liberty, by which their passions were so agreeably flattered.”² An

¹ See his *Preface* to Peter De Soto, *De Institut. Sacerdot. Epist.* The reader who wishes to see more on this melancholy subject may consult the *Fasciculus Rerum Expetend. et Fugiend.* Orthuin. Grat. edited by E. Brown, particularly the following documents:—Juliani Cardinal. *Ad Eugenium IV. Epist.* tom. i. p. 59; the account of the general corruption by the University of Paris, pp. 68-71; Adrian’s letter to the German Princes, p. 345; Pet. De Alliaco, Cardinal. Camarecens. *De Reformatione Ecclesiæ*, pp. 407-16; the strong statements of John Picus Mirandula, addressed to Leo X. *De Moribus Reformandis*, pp. 418, 19; Matt. De Cracovia, *De Squaloribus Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, tom. ii. p. 585; Lindani Ruremundensis Episcopi *De Perditissimis Cleri Moribus*, p. 667; Geo. Wicelii *Elench. Abususum*, p. 745;—the very titles of which compositions sufficiently indicate the nature of their contents, and the worst enemies of the Roman Church never gave a more dismal picture of her condition than is set forth in these lamentations of her own servants. See also Andrew Fricius, *De Ecclesia*, lib. iv. cap. v. p. 241; and the Constitution of Pope Julius II. of the year 1505, referred to by De Mezeray, p. 945; and again, for the complaints of the civil authorities, see Goldast. *Constitut. Imperial.* tom. ii. p. 183 and p. 325; and *Formul. Reform.* ed. Lovanii, 1548.

² Maimbourg, ann. 1520. A similar statement is made by Florimond De Remond, *L’Anti-Papesse*, ch. xvii. p. 134; and see Alfons. De Castro, *Adv. Hæres.* lib. i. cap. xii.

account of the matter which this writer does not seem to have understood was at least as disgraceful to the communion which they left, as conclusive against that which they joined.

At length, however,—for we must hasten to an end,—the council was summoned which was to deal with these mighty evils. The very summoning of such an assembly was of course, in itself, a large concession; but it led to others which were more precise and specific. The congregated fathers were first exhorted, by the legates of the holy see, “to address themselves to a serious reformation of manners,” in order to “take away from the heretics the pretext which they assigned for their revolt.”¹ The persons so styled *did* therefore assert that pretext, and *justly*; or why should these be admonished to remove it? And the whole question—so far as the argument of these pages is concerned—was finally settled, when the president himself, sitting in that council, did not scruple to condemn, as “the very source and origin of the new heresies, *those disorders and corruptions which had then so long prevailed.*”²

With these few citations, as being amply suffi-

¹ Maimbourg, ann. 1545.

² “Quæ jam diu depravata atque corrupta, harum ipsarum hæresium, magna ex parte, *causa origo*que extitit.” *Orat. Præsid. Concil. Trident.* sess. xi.; cf. sess. xxv. *Decret. de Indulgent.*, where the admission is repeated. The same thing is said by Cardinal Campeggio, *Constit. ad removendos Abusus*; and by the Cardinals, Bishops, and others, at the conference of Poissy: De Mezeray, ann. 1561, p. 676.

cient for the present purpose,¹ this distasteful part of our subject might be closed. There is, however, one writer, esteemed, I believe, amongst the most zealous and accomplished advocates of Rome in modern times, to whose remarkable language on this delicate point I wish to refer. Having, in many places of his useful and admirable writings, admitted without reserve the grievous and widely spread corruptions of the period to which reference has been made, M. Mœhler appears to have summed up, as it were, his reflections in the following affecting and deeply interesting passage, with which these remarks shall be concluded.

“It cannot be denied,” he says, “that priests and bishops and popes, trampling under foot the most sacred duties, suffered too often the heavenly fire to be extinguished; that many even quenched, by their disorders, the yet smoking brand. Catho-

¹ Which is not to produce all that could be collected of this kind—from such a task one might well shrink—but only so much as would serve to distinguish, in an important particular, between the present race of Calvinists and Lutherans, and the first founders of those sects. I will add only one more confession, from the pen of a living writer; who, describing the reaction of catholicism in the latter part of the 16th century, says, “Many rallied round the standard of that primitive Church, which, with its accustomed prudence and calm, had already entered on several great measures of reform, which a certain relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline and the exigency of the times required;” *Dublin Review*, vol. x. p. 455: a statement (and this is my reason for quoting it) which obviously concedes much more than the writer intended. For how could an evil so slight as to be adequately described by the ambiguous phrase, “a certain relaxation of discipline,” demand for its cure “several great measures of reform?”

lics have nothing to fear from such confessions, and they never have shrunk from making them.¹ *How, indeed, is it possible to question the profound decay of the ministry, when the very existence of Protestantism is an irrefragable proof of it?* No! never would such extravagances have seen the light, still less would they have been able to gain popularity, if the teachers of the people had been faithful to their calling. Learn, then, O Protestants, to measure the vastness of the abuses with which you reproach us, by the enormity of your

¹ This we may admit; but there are errors of another sort, against the faith of the ancient Church, which they cannot so easily excuse. Was it well, for instance, to use the very arguments of Aerius, as many of the Italian Bishops were taught to do at the Council of Trent, and, in order to elevate the Bishop of Rome, to refer the office of all other Bishops to a merely human institution? Were these unfaithful teachers in a position to speak very severely of Protestant follies? Vide Spondan. ann. 1562, pp. 628, 9; Leo Allatius, *De Ecc. Occid. et Orient. perpet. Consens.* lib. i. cap. iv. § 14, who tries to derive the whole order from the Pope; or Barbosa, *De Episc. Offic.* par. i. tit. i. cap. i. § 32, 33, who even attempts to limit the succession to the same Patriarch. And so well was it understood that the Roman Court had taken this heresy under its protection, that one could even dare to say of that once glorious see, "*Vescovado di ragion divina, opinione aborrita a Roma!*" *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, di Pietro Soave, lib. ii. p. 406; who relates elsewhere—lib. vii. p. 622—the shameless arguments of the Jesuit Lainez on the same subject. Or, again, what shall be said of that body of which Lainez was the head, who, in France at least, were often the open enemies of the bishops, and were allowed to boast, "*se sine Episcoporum approbatione ac benedictione conscendere pul-pita, conciones habere, suscipere pœnitentes, &c. . . . Quomodo subsunt Episcopis?*" Hospinian, *De Doctrina Jesuitarum*, p. 249. Archbishop Bramhall had surely some reason to say, "Episcopal rights and papal claims are inconsistent." *Vindication of Grotius*, ch. iv. p. 619.

own errors. *This* is the ground upon which the two Churches will one day meet and become united. *In the consciousness of our common sins*, we ought to exclaim, both the one and the other, ‘We have all failed, the Church alone could not err; we have all sinned, the Church alone is pure from every blemish. As for her, she remains for ever without spot.’¹

The evidence which has now been offered upon each of the four points proposed for consideration might have been indefinitely extended. It is, however, sufficiently plain from what has been already said, that the sectaries of our age and nation have wandered very far indeed from the principles which their first masters and teachers thought it necessary to profess. This, of course, was to be expected. But it remains still to be shewn, that, as in the *general grounds* of their separation—with which alone we have been hitherto concerned—the modern religionists have almost nothing in common with the contemporaries of Calvin and Luther, except their violence

¹ *La Symbolique*, tome ii. pp. 33, 34. Cf. tome i. p. 361, where he admits that the Protestants were “engagés dans l’erreur *par de nombreux et de déplorables abus*, spécialement par l’indifférence et la tiédeur des Catholiques.” All this should at least teach the advocates of Rome a little more gentleness of tone, when they undertake to rebuke those whose present condition has been mainly caused by the very errors and corruptions, which they are willing enough to confess, but not willing to amend. Has Rome alone a dispensation to sin without repentance?

and self-will ; so, in the particular question of the submission due to the Bishops of the Church, as governors appointed by the ordinance of God, they are no less at variance with them than with the whole body of the saints during the first fifteen ages of Christianity.¹ On this point, too, Calvin shall be first heard.

II. And in searching for the judgment of this "reformer," it seems right to refer in the outset to some part of his writings in which the subject of Church-polity is formally considered. It is in such a place that we may expect to find his mature and deliberate sentiment. And it would be unfair, perhaps, to take advantage of concessions made at other times, until we had first tried him by this test. Let it be applied at once. It was, then, whilst discussing minutely and elaborately the constitution of the Christian Priesthood, when we may suppose him to have been especially *on his guard*, that Calvin wrote as follows.

"It will be profitable in these questions to

¹ "Non a nobis longius, et ab Apostolica Catholica Christi Ecclesia, *quam a doctissimis fratribus suis*, sat scio, a magno Isaaco Casaubono, et optimo sene Petro Molinæo, abeuntes." Hammond, *Dissert. Quatuor*, Præfat. The learned Durell, who had travelled in foreign countries, and taken great pains to investigate this very matter, says, of his own knowledge, "that the Puritans differ in their notions of ecclesiastical polity from *all* the reformed communions, whose members teach and affirm, *uno ore*, that the faithful are bound to be in subjection to the Bishops of the reformed Church." *Vindic. Eccles. Anglican.* Præf.

review *the form of the Ancient Church*, which will exhibit to our glance a kind of representation (or image) of the divine institution. For although the bishops of those times promulgated divers canons, in which they may appear to set forth more than is expressed in the sacred Scriptures, *yet with such heedfulness did they arrange their whole system according to that one prescript form contained in the word of God, that you may easily perceive that they held in this particular almost nothing which varies from that word.*"¹ This is indeed a full and unre-served admission, nor does it want the confirmation which is supplied by the reiteration of similar statements.

Thus far we see only that Calvin defended in general terms the conciliar decrees of the primitive bishops, and their whole system of Church-discipline, as harmonising with the records of Holy Scripture. The next passage will shew more exactly what form of polity he had in his mind when he pronounced this opinion. He describes it, in his own words, as follows:

"That every province had among their bishops an archbishop, and that patriarchs were appointed by the Council of Nice who should be in order and dignity above the archbishops: this was done for the preservation of discipline. It must, however, be observed, with reference to this point, that the usage was of rare occurrence. For this cause,

¹ Citat. ap. Hadrian. Sarav. ad Bezæ *Satan. Episcopat.* p. 87.

therefore, especially were those degrees appointed, that if any thing should happen in any particular church, which could not be safely resolved by a few, reference should be made to a provincial synod. If the importance or difficulty of the case required yet further consultation, then the patriarchs were added to the synodal congress, from which there was no appeal but to a general council. This order of government some have termed *hierarchy*—an improper name, in my judgment, and certainly not to be found in the Scriptures; but if, omitting the phrase, we shall consider the thing itself, *we shall find that those ancient bishops sought to frame no other mode of church-government than that which God hath prescribed in His Word.*¹ We have only to add, that the English ‘hierarchy’ received no less energetic commendation from the same person;² and Calvin becomes a fatal witness indeed, as against his own inventions on the one hand, so against the more licentious novelties of his disciples on the other.

But his admissions do not stop here. It is not only as in no degree contrariant to the word of God that he eulogises the discipline of the early Church—he goes further, and affirms openly that

¹ “Verum si rem, omisso vocabulo, intuemur, reperiemus veteres Episcopos non aliam regendæ Ecclesiæ formam voluisse fingere ab ea quam Deus verbo suo præscripsit.” *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. iv. § 4.

² Even Daillé confesses that “Calvin honoured all Bishops that were not subjects of the Pope, . . . *such as were the Prelates of England.*” Quoted by Bingham, *ubi supra*, ch. iv. vol. viii, pp. 211, 12.

Episcopacy was of *divine* institution. "The Episcopate itself," said he, referring to the uncanonical customs and uncatholic traditions of modern Rome, "had its appointment from God. The office of a bishop was instituted by the authority and defined by the ordinance of God."¹ And there can be no question made as to the nature of the office which he here contemplates, because he is addressing himself in this very passage to one of his former friends, who had lately been consecrated a bishop of the *Roman* communion. And how disingenuous and unreal would such language have been, if he were covertly alluding to some *new* theory of the Episcopate, with which that prelate must have been utterly unacquainted! It is plain that he could not make such a statement to a *bishop*, unless he meant it of *his* office. This, I suppose, would have been quite certain, even if he had said no more; but he fully explains and limits his own meaning when he adds, in the next sentence, "*Thou* hast been appointed a bishop; with *thee* is present the authority of the Apostle Paul." And he adds, "Either do the work of a bishop, or resign your Episcopal chair." Again, in his letter to the King of Poland, which has been already cited, as he recommends to the sanction of that prince a new and "*extraordinary*" ministry, on the avowed

¹ "Episcopatus ipse a Deo profectus est. Episcopi munus Dei auctoritate constitutum est et legibus definitum." *Veteri Amico nunc Præsuli, Epist.*

understanding that it should be regarded as a “*merely temporary*” institution, and should give way, on the accomplishment of certain definite objects, to a “*more proper order*,” so he consistently describes to the same monarch the office of the archbishops and patriarchs of the primitive Church, and the ends for which those officers would serve in *his* kingdom.

Again, being consulted as to what must be done if any of the Roman bishops should join the party of the reformation, he says not a word about robbing him of his sacred dignity, which, as he knew, the holy councils, for which he professed so great reverence, had declared to be “sacrilege;”¹ but simply enjoins that such bishop “must purge all the churches *belonging to his bishopric* from all errors and from the worship of idols, whilst he himself, by his example, should point out the way to *all the clergy of his diocese*” (he was, therefore, to retain his office and authority), “and persuade them to receive the reformed doctrine.”² And accordingly, in the famous conflict between the archbishop of Cologne and the canons of that church, Calvin took part warmly and vehemently, as was his wont, with that prelate, and, in common with the whole Protestant party, would have kept him

¹ Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν φέρειν ἱεροσυλία ἐστὶ. *Concil. Chalcedon.* can. xxix.

² Cf. *Epist.* cclxxii. *Episcopo Wladislaviensi*, p. 499; and his invocation to all the Catholic Bishops, *Præfat. in edit. Gallic. Nov. Test.* p. 142.

in his office, if the power of Rome had not proved too strong for them.¹

Nor was this the only instance in which he attempted to vindicate the authority of the Episcopate from the usurpations of Rome. We have heard his admiration of the ancient episcopal decrees; he was accustomed, as we shall now see, to appeal to them in the same controversy. "Shew us," was his challenge to Cardinal Sadolet, "if there

¹ Maimbourg relates, after his manner, that when the Archbishop Gebhard desired to marry the Countess Agnes of Mansfeld, it was represented to him by his friends the Counts of Solms and Nieuver, that "to accomplish his desires he had only to turn Lutheran, after the example of the Bishops of Germany, Sweden, and Denmark; to whom it had been permitted to marry, and yet to retain their bishoprics;" livre vi. ann. 1581. I notice this to shew, that men in those days were so far from supposing that the reformed party rejected Episcopacy on principle, that they even joined that party, in some cases, lest they should lose their bishoprics. Other Prelates did so, no doubt, from purer motives, and in every case were continued in their offices, until, not the Protestants, but the Romanists turned them out. A remarkable instance, among many others, is that of Bishop Michael Sidonius; and again, that of John Antony Caraccioli, Bishop of Troyes, who, as De Thou relates, continued to govern his diocese till the King forcibly ejected him. The same writer adds, "that this example of Caraccioli was looked upon by the adverse party to be a matter of such dangerous consequence, that they laboured with all their might to ruin him, and never ceased till they had prevailed with the King to force him to quit his station." Quoted by Bingham, *ubi supra*. Du Moulin, who notices other instances, adds, "the Archbishop of Vienne and the Bishop of Orleans were once about to have done as much, and would have found the like obedience from the Protestant party, but the great stream of the state proved too strong for them." And he goes on to shew, from examples, that "nothing had been more eagerly opposed *by the Pope and his creatures* than that the Protestants should have Bishops." So that when "some of their prime men," seeing the evil consequences of presbytery, applied to Cardinal Richelieu to

be any traces amongst you of that holy and just discipline *which the ancient bishops administered in the Church*. Have ye not treated all their appointments with contempt? Have ye not trodden under foot all the canons?"¹ And then, that we may know to what canons he alluded, he asks, "Where are those ancient canons, with which, as with bands, *the bishops and presbyters* used to be restrained in their office? After what manner are bishops elected amongst *you*?"² And he goes on to assert, what

permit the appointment of Bishops, "pretending that it would bring them nearer to the Roman Church, he flatly denied to give way to it, and told them, 'if you had that Order, *you would look too like a Church.*'" *Novelty of Popery*, Pref. A similar answer was given by Cardinal Barberini; see Stillingfleet, *Unreasonableness of Separation*, Preface, p. 9.

¹ *Ad Cardinalem Sadoletum Responsio*. Men might well despair of procuring a return to ancient customs, when a Pope had said, "Cavendum est, ne obtentu renovandi pristinos Ecclesiæ canones, quidquam in Synodo statuatur, quod contrarium sit posteris legibus!" P. Benedict. XIV. *De Synod. Diæcesan.* lib. xi. cap. iv. § 4. While, on the other hand, Cardinal Cusa quotes the saying of Pope Zozimus; "contra statuta Patrum aliquid condere vel mutare, *nec hujusmodi sedis potest auctoritas.*" *De Concordant. Cathol.* lib. ii. cap. xx.:—between these two authorities there would be some perplexity in coming to a decision.

² *Ubi supra*. John Sturmius even appeals to the judgment of the Cardinal himself—"conscientiam tuam appello"—whether the Canons were not utterly despised by the Romish party, and prays that a reformation may be conceded according to *them*." "Reddite Pontifices," he says, "concedite Episcopos, date diaconos, permittite metropolitanos, revocate patriarchas, *instauretur vetus disciplina*, corrigatur doctrina, nos manus libenter dabimus, etiam cervices si sit opus," &c. Surely there is not much in common between this Genevan doctor and our modern 'presbyterians?' Yet Sturmius was in such honour with his own party, that they employed him as a legate in France and elsewhere. Sleidan, lib. xviii. ann. 1546. p. 322.

they could not themselves gainsay, that they had long since reduced those canons to a dead letter.

And the same charge he proposes, in another place, as a sufficient answer to their claims to the true succession; of which, far from denying its intrinsic value, he says, "I would in truth that this possession of which they boast, they had preserved by their own merit."¹ And as he thus disowned—whether justly or not, is no part of our present inquiry—the force of their appeal to the unbroken succession, so he replied to their claim of alliance with the primitive Fathers in a similar way. "As if," said he, "the holy Fathers, when they lauded the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the spiritual rule, *as it was derived to them by succession from the Apostles*, dreamed of such a chaos of ruin and desolation!"² Again and again he calls upon them to examine themselves by *their* canons, as he knew, unhappily, their own wisest rulers feared to do. "It is against these modern inventions that we contend, not against *those holy and edifying constitutions of the Church* which tend either to the preservation of discipline, or purity, or peace;"³ and those venerable constitutions he had declared to be "the canons of the primitive bishops." The bishops themselves, as distinct from the pope, he

¹ "Utinam vero quam jactant possessionem, suo merito retinuisent." *De Reformanda Ecclesia*.

² *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. v. § 13.

³ *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. x. § 1.

did not, then, to use his own word, "dream" of rejecting: how could he, when his very challenge was, that their rightful jurisdiction should be restored to them, and he had himself subscribed the Augustan Confession, which professed the most earnest solicitude for the preservation of their order? His whole argument, whatever may be thought of its cogency, is a plea for the restoration of that pure and primitive government which was then so miserably corrupted. It is *you*, he protests, who have fallen away from the customs of the primitive bishops. You are enemies of Christ, you have defiled even your blessings, you have *changed* the ancient and holy order. The Fathers never countenanced, nor would they tolerate, this shameless usurpation of one bishop over all the rest. And then he sums up all, and declares his own judgment, in the well-known passage: "Let them give us such an Hierarchy, in which the Bishops may *so* bear rule, that they refuse not to submit to Christ, and to depend upon Him as their only Head" (referring to the assumed headship of the Bishop of Rome); "let them be so united together in a brotherly concord, as that His truth shall be their only bond of union; then, indeed, *if there shall be any who will not reverence them and pay them the most exact obedience, there is no anathema but I confess them worthy of it.*"¹

¹ *De Reformanda Ecclesia*. And "this is the more remarkable," as Bishop Morton observes, "because the tractate wherein those

Conclusive as these various passages must be confessed to be, so far as respects the purpose for which they are here cited, there is one circumstance in the history of Calvin which adds tenfold weight to the impression which they are calculated to produce. And to this circumstance some reference shall now, in the last place, be made.

It was not, we shall find, only in the outset of his career—when his concessions might be referred to the lingering prejudices of habit and education, or he might seem to be too much occupied in the work of pulling down to have leisure for the more arduous task of building up again—that Calvin offered this fatal testimony against his own errors. Even in that case, it would have been effectual

words are, is written professedly concerning the *reformation* of churches.” Some have tried to weaken their force, by supposing that the writer spoke here under the influence of some unusual and transient feeling: “but Calvin,” as a very acute judge has remarked, “was no enthusiast;” Archbishop Lawrence, *Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 8. Others, again, have used a different method, and cut it out of his writings! “That most perspicuous passage of Calvin, wherein he declareth, ‘they deserve to be anathematised who reject Episcopacy where it may be retained’—which is really to pronounce an anathema on all our English sectaries—is quite purged out in the two later editions of Beza and Gelasius!” Shaw’s *No Reformation of the established Reformation*, p. 172; and again, “What was to be found in the Argentorate edition of Bucer is left out in the Genevan, as Grotius informs us.” *Ibid.* The same author quotes other like cases of the Puritans in England; and it seems to have been a favourite policy with these religionists in every country. Gerard Voss tells Grotius that Calvin himself cut out of Bucer’s works what displeased him, and published at Geneva a “castrated” edition; *Vir. Erudit. Epistolæ*, no. 571. p. 818. A Polish Socinian complains, that one of the editors of Calvin’s letters did the same

to confound both himself and his more audacious scholars. But it was *after* his work was done, so far as he prevailed to accomplish it, and his ambition sated to the full; after his own new system had been firmly established, and he had ascended the throne of that empire which he prudently permitted his followers to call a republic, but in which he ruled alone with more than regal or pontifical sway;—it was after he had tasted the sweets of almost unlimited power, that he was compelled once more, either by the secret sting of conscience, or the impulse of that Power which “taketh the wise in their own craftiness,” to bear fresh witness to the truth which by bold acts he had ventured to condemn. The circumstances of his application to

by them; Lubieniecii *Hist. Reformat. Polonicæ*, lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 44. Mœhler refers to passages of Melancthon’s writings similarly omitted; *La Symbolique*, tome i. pp. 25, 26. Bramhall says that “Blondel, in his needless apology for St. Hierome, made a very necessary apology for himself, and sent it to Mr. Rivet to be added as an appendix to his book in the impression of it, *by whose neglect it was omitted.*” *Vindication of Grotius*, ch. iv. p. 621. “Monsieur Amyrald,” says another, “declared himself a friend to Episcopacy in a select tractate sent hither, which one of that party (the puritan) borrowed, and would never restore, and so it could not be printed.” *Life of Bishop Hacket*, p. 25. See Nelson’s *Life of Bishop Bull*, p. 217, for another example of this ingenuity. Wesley’s application of Numbers xvi. to those of his preachers who should presume to exercise the functions of the sacred ministry has been prudently omitted, in like manner, by recent editors of his works. And it appears that formerly sectaries used even to intercept writings likely to be disadvantageous to their cause. A person writing from Germany, A.D. 1534, to Ridley and another, complains that this was a common trick. See the letter prefixed to the Antwerp edition of S. Isidore, *De Ecc. Off.* (1534). Such a warfare, it may be presumed, would hardly prosper in the long-run.

the English Church for the restoration of the divine office of the Episcopate are related by one who, as is well known, was deeply imbued with his own principles. Archbishop Abbott was no enemy to Calvin;¹ and it is in his words that the following account is given.

“Perusing some papers,” he says, “of our predecessor Matthew Parker, we find that John Calvin, and others of the Protestant Churches of Germany and elsewhere, *would have had Episcopacy if permitted*, but could not upon several accounts; partly, fearing the other princes of the Roman Catholic faith would have joined with the Emperor and the rest of the Popish Bishops, to have depressed the same; partly, being newly reformed, and not settled, they had not sufficient wealth to support Episcopacy, by reason of their daily persecutions.² Another, and a main cause was, they

¹ “Abbott considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those most who did that most furiously . . . and having himself made very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin.” Clarendon’s *History*, vol. i. p. 157. Benzeliuſ calls him “*magnus ille presbyteranæ sectæ fautor et indulgentissimus patronus.*” *Dissert. Historico-Theolog. de J. Duræo*, p. 18. ed. Helmstad.

² Another reason which they assigned in their own behalf deserves notice. Gerard Brandt reports that the magistrates of Antwerp were especially averse to the creation of the new Bishops in the Netherlands by Pope Pius IV., because “the infallible fruit of it (the presence of a Bishop) would be the Inquisition.” *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, book v. vol. i. p. 134, English edit. Cf. Famian Strada *De Bello Belgico*, lib. ii.; Davila *Delle Guerre Civili di Francia*, lib. ii. p. 61. The two were not

would not have any popish hands laid over their clergy. And whereas John Calvin *had sent a letter in King Edward VI.'s reign, to have conferred with the clergy of England about some things to this effect*, two Bishops, viz. Gardiner and Bonner, intercepted the same, whereby Mr. Calvin's offerture perished; and he received an answer, *as if it had been from the reformed divines of those times*, wherein they checked him and slighted his proposals! From which time John Calvin and the Church of England were at variance on several points, which otherwise, through God's mercy, had been qualified, if those papers of his proposals had been discovered unto the Queen's Majesty during John Calvin's life. But being not discovered until or about the sixth year of her Majesty's reign, her Majesty much lamented they were not found sooner; which she expressed before her Council at the same time, in the presence of her great friends, Sir Henry Sidney and Sir William Cecil."¹

unusually connected together; so that De Meteren, speaking of such appointments of new Bishops, notices as the popular objection, "qu'on ne devoit pas en un tel temps introduire . . . quelques Evesques, et quelque changement, beaucoup moins *quelque nouvelle Inquisition, si odieuse au peuple.*" *Histoire des Pays Bas*, livre ii. fol. 32. And this is confirmed by Cardinal Bentivoglio in his *History of Flanders*, p. ii. ch. i. p. 68. No wonder, then, that the people were afraid of Bishops.

¹ Vide Strype, *Life of Parker*, vol. i. p. 140. The same diligent compiler has recorded how the foreign Protestants "took such great joy and satisfaction in this good king (Edward VI.) and his establishment of religion, that the heads of them, Bullinger, Calvin, and others, in a letter to him, offered to make him their defender, *and to have Bishops in their churches, as there were in England*, with the

With this curious and interesting narrative our reference to the testimony of Calvin may very appropriately be concluded. How far these passages in his life may have availed towards his own justification, it is beyond the province of his fellow-men to judge. One thing is certain,—that when they who have not feared to defend and perpetuate, upon wholly new grounds,¹ that human system

tender of their advice to assist and unite together.” And then Strype describes the arts by which the Romanists strove to prevent this union, and to bring Episcopacy into discredit. *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 296, 7.

¹ Compare, for instance, the language of the Scotch presbyterians with that which has been quoted in this chapter. “This *cursed Papistrie*” is the phrase applied to Episcopacy in the *First Booke of Scottish Discipline*. “Archbishops and Bishops,” they say, “are unlawfull, unnatural, false, and bastardlie governors of the church, and the ordinances of the devil.” Presbyterian sayings, quoted by Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions*, chap. xii. Ames declares of the English puritans, “they hold that inequality of churches and church-officers in ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority was that principally advanced Antichrist unto his throne.” Ames’ *English Puritans*, ch. ii. § 9. Dr. Owen calls Episcopacy, “a mere antichristian encroachment on God’s inheritance.” *Thanksgiving Sermon*, Oct. 1651. And this vast difference of opinion between the British and continental Protestants seems to have been noted with good effect in the very beginning of this controversy: see *The Aberdeen Demands about the Covenant, with Answers and Replies*, 13th Demand, p. 32, ed. 1638. Dr. Hacket, in his famous speech before the long Parliament, told them, that the foreign Protestants were all accustomed to acknowledge the superior felicity of the English Church, and to envy it: and Dr. Steward, with the same plainness, reminded the Parliamentary Commissioners,—of whom Henderson was one,—at the treaty of Uxbridge, 1644, that “the most learned men of the foreign churches had lamented that their reformation was not so perfect as it ought to be, for want of Episcopacy.” Clarendon, book viii. vol. v. pp. 52 and 55. ed. Oxon. Could they have made such statements in the very presence of their adversaries, if there had been any possibility of denying them?

which he first devised, but afterwards desired to abandon, shall have followed him to his present abode, *they*, at least, will have no such justification to plead.¹

III. Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva, may be heard next; and as so much space has been allotted to the founder himself of the new discipline, the confessions of his disciples must be set down in as few words as possible.

To have wrested Beza from the adversaries would indeed have been an easy task, even if his admissions had been much more wary than we shall find them to have been. Take, for instance, the two following passages. He is speaking in the first of the holy œcumenic Council of Nicæa, of which he declares, "No man was ever yet found to have opposed himself to this Council, *whom God did not by some tremendous judgment destroy.*"² In

¹ It is easy, however, to foresee that our brethren will resign their great Master as soon as he is found to witness against them. Indeed some of them appear to have done so already. "When I quoted the admission of Calvin about the Episcopate," says an English clergyman who visited Geneva in the year 1835, "they said at once, '*We go much further now than Calvin did*, and do not call him or any other our Master.'" Vide Palmer's *Illustrations of the Latitudinarian development of the original Calvinistic community*, p. 45. Observe, too, how like these men are in all ages: "Ego non a Manichæo didici," said the Manichæan Felix, when referred to his Master's words, "sed a Christo didici!" Aug. *De Actis cum Felice*, lib. ii. cap. xx. tom. vi. p. 216.

² "Nicenum Concilium sacrosanctum, . . . cui nemo adhuc inventus est qui sese opponeret, quem Deus horrendo judicio non perdidit." *Epist.* lvi. The 8th canon of this Council decrees, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾶσιν.

the second, his subject includes the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; and of these again he professes, that “from the departure of the Apostles themselves the sun never looked upon any assembly more holy or more majestic.”¹ Now, in each of these holy Councils of the primitive Church the authority and pre-eminence of the Bishops of Christ, and the allegiance due to them by the other orders of the clergy, is asserted in language such as in these days we hardly venture even to repeat.² Beza, there-

¹ “Amplissimus ille Nicenæ, Ephesinæ, Chalcedonensis Synodi consessus, quo nihil unquam sanctius, nihil augustius ab Apostolorum excessu sol unquam aspexit.” *Epist.* lxxxi. Elsewhere, writing against an Arian, he says, that even to question whether the Fathers of Nicæa, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, held the true knowledge of God, is to be unworthy a place in the Church; *Libell. de Valentin. Gentil. Præfat.* p. 19. Cf. *De Ecclesia*, cap. v. Martin Bucer says of these early Fathers, that “Christ lived, taught, and wrote *in them*—in eis vixit, docuit, et scripsit;” *In Sacra Evang.* Præfat.; and see his *Apolog. de Cæna Domini*, Opp. p. 670: as also Cranmer, *Works*, vol. ii. p. 14. ed. Oxon. 1833. The Synod of Paris in 1559 says, on behalf of the French Reformed Churches, Art. vi., “We allow of that which those four ancient Councils have determined; and we detest all sects and heresies condemned by those holy ancient doctors, St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, St. Cyril, and St. Ambrose.” Quick’s *Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 7: and part of the confession required of the students at the academy of Geneva, previous to its apostasy, was, “I abhor all the heresies which have been condemned by the first Council of Nice, the first of Ephesus, and that of Chalcedon.” Vide Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, tom. vii. p. 291. With such confessions, the refutation of ‘presbyterianism’ is not a very difficult task.

² See, for instance, the 6th canon of Constantinople—70 years *earlier* than Chalcedon—which ranks separation from the Bishop with the most heinous heresies; the 29th of Chalcedon, as has been noticed, makes it “sacrilege” to degrade a Bishop to the rank of a presbyter; and see can. iv. and can. viii. The historian says of the Nicene Canons, “Imperator decretum Episcopale complectitur;”

fore, in speaking against Episcopacy, has displayed a hardihood and levity which it is painful to contemplate. But it must be confessed that, in spite of much heretical argumentation and the strangest inconsistency, he never seems to have quite forgotten that he had written such words as the above.

Thus it will be observed, I think, that in all his writings he has not once ventured to defame the discipline of the Church, without the addition of some qualification restricting his censures to *Romish* corruptions. "In all which I have written against the Romish Hierarchy," he says himself, in a letter of May 1591, quoted by Durell, "*I have not even alluded to the Polity of the Anglican Church, which to impugn, or even to notice, was at no time in my thoughts.*"¹ How far this assertion may have

Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sac.* lib. ii. p. 138 : and see the remarks of John of Salisbury upon the conduct of the Emperor during the session of that Council; *De Nugis Curialium*, lib. iv. cap. iii.

¹ *Vindic. Eccles. Anglican.* cap. xxxiv. p. 529. "If we sometimes speak against the authority of Bishops," says Du Moulin, "we condemn not Episcopal order in itself, but speak only of the corruption which the Church of Rome has introduced into it." *Buckler of Faith*, p. 345, quoted by Bingham, vol. viii. p. 204. The same thing is said by Andreas, *Hyperaspist. in Prolegom. J. Brentii*, p. 61; by Lubbert, *De Papa*, lib. vi. cap. i. p. 483; by Whittaker against Bellarmine, as Bramhall notices, *Serpent Salve*, p. 597; and even by some of the promoters of the Scotch Covenant, though of course they could not have been sincere in saying so: see Gauden's *Analysis of the Scottish Covenant* (1660), who adds, that "the most learned and godly Presbyterians" of his time were favourable to "that ancient, noble, and venerable fabric of Episcopacy;" pp. 21, 22. See also the collection entitled *Confessions and*

been strictly true, is perhaps no concern of ours. If he chose to separate our branch of the Catholic Church from others, and to concede to us the perfection which he denied to them, it was open to him to do so. And though we shall willingly acknowledge that his testimony in our favour is worth nothing, yet it must be admitted to fall heavily upon our enemies : it may do us no good, but it does them serious harm ; *they* are cast, to use the world's language, by a jury of their own choosing.

The distinction between primitive and papal Episcopacy, so commonly noticed by the first Protestants, finds a frequent place in Beza's writings. The latter he characterised as a corrupt and tyrannical system ; but he adds, " We do not accuse *all* Archbishops and Bishops of the present day of this tyranny. What arrogance would such a charge imply ! Nay rather, if they follow the example of those holy Bishops (of former times), and seek to restore the house of God, now miserably decayed, by the rule of His word, what hinders us to acknowledge them as *faithful pastors* of the Christian Church, to obey, and to honour them with all reverence ? We do not, as some most falsely and most impudently object to us, propose *our own peculiar example* to be followed by other Churches,

Proofes of Protestant Divines of Reformed Churches, p. 9. How well did Tertullian describe such 'reformers' as these : " timet damnare, quod damnat ; timet odisse, quod non amat ; factum sinit, quod fieri non sinit ! " *Adv. Marcionem*, lib. i. cap. xxvii. p. 450.

like those rash men who think nothing right of which they are not themselves the authors.”¹

Again : “ If your English Church be supported by the authority of Bishops and Archbishops—and it has possessed many of that order, who were not only illustrious martyrs of God, but also most eminent pastors and doctors,—*let it enjoy that singular benefit of God, which I trust He may preserve to it for ever.*”²

Again : “ If there be any—*which, however, you will not easily induce me to believe*—who reject the whole order of Episcopacy, God forbid that any man in his senses should assent to their madness.”³

And once more—for if words mean any thing, the strength of such vehement professions cannot be augmented by repetition : “ We exhort, and most humbly beseech with tears, our right good brethren of the English Churches, and most respected in the Lord, that all bitterness of mind

¹ *Triplex Episcopatus*, cap. xxi. p. 207 (ed. 1610).

² “ . . . fruatur ista singulari Dei beneficentia, quæ utinam sit illi perpetua.” *De Divers. Grad. Minist.* contra Saraviam, cap. xviii.

³ “ Si qui sunt autem (quod sane mihi non facile persuaseris) qui omnem Episcoporum ordinem rejiciant, absit ut quisquam satis sanæ mentis furoribus illorum assentiatur.” *De Divers. Grad. Minist.* cap. i. In another passage, which Bramhall takes the pains to notice—*Serpent Salve*, p. 604—Beza defends himself from “ the impudent arrogance” of speaking disrespectfully of the English Bishops : and this sort of language, which was quite common with him, was the more remarkable in a person of his temper, who, as Heylyn says, “ drove on so furiously, like Jehu in the Holy Scriptures, as if no kings or princes were to stand before him.” *History of the Presbyterians*, p. 37.

being laid aside (which we fear this evil hath greatly increased on both sides), the truth of doctrine itself remaining safe, and conscience safe, men patiently bear with one another, heartily obey the Queen's Majesty, *and all their Bishops*; and lastly, constantly resist Satan, who seeketh all occasions of tumults and infinite calamities,"¹ &c.

Such are a few of Beza's sayings which may be most suitably cited in this place. It would be tedious to add to them. It appears, moreover, that he, as well as Calvin, repented in after-life of the support which he had once given to a system of human invention. "At Geneva," says Downname, "while Calvin lived he was the perpetuall President of their ecclesiasticall Senate, differing rather in name than authoritie from a Bishop. And Beza likewise for the space of ten yeares had the like authoritie, till Danæus coming thither, that course was altered. Since which times Beza, finding some inconveniences which he knew not how to redresse, hath sometimes signified his desire to some whom I know, wishing with all his heart, that, with the reformation of religion, *the Episcopall government in that Church had been retayned.*"²

¹ *Epist.* xii. quoted by Strype, *Life of Archbishop Grindal*, Appendix, p. 515.

² *Defence of Sermon*, book iv. ch. vii. p. 166. Dr. Brett remarks—*Church Government*, ch. v. p. 123—upon this extraordinary circumstance in the position of our English sectaries, that even "by the sentence of Calvin and Beza, whom they pretend to be followers of, they are *anathematised* and counted as *madmen*;" and this judgment has been confirmed by most of the famous divines of Geneva.

IV. Melancthon's desire to retain Episcopacy, and the efforts which he made with that object, were so notorious in his own day, that it would be enough to refer to the writings of his contemporaries in proof of a fact of which they make frequent mention.¹ He himself even complained to Luther, that he was on this very account "hated" by all the lovers of novelty; and his biographer Camerarius, who commends his zeal for the preservation of the ancient ecclesiastical polity, and "his endeavours to restore the authority of the Bishops

Farel, Rivet, Vedelius, and Viret, may be instanced. "Before Calvin," says Bramhall, "Farellus offered the Bishop of Geneva terms to retain his bishopric, if he would give way to the Reformation;" (and see on this point Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions*, chap. ii.). Of Rivet the same Prelate says, "he himself did entreat a noble Earl yet living to procure him a dignity or prebend in England, as his brothers Moulin and Vossius had. The Earl answered, that he could not hold any such place in England without subscribing to Episcopacy, and the doctrine and discipline of the English Church. And he replied, *that he was most ready to subscribe to them both with his hand and heart.*" *Vindication of Grotius*, ch. iv. p. 621. For the sentiment of Vedelius, see *Exercitat.* iii. in *Epist. S. Ignat. ad Philadelph.* cap. xiv. p. 138; and for that of Viret, *De Minist. Verbi Dei et Sacram.* lib. viii. cap. iii. Bramhall adduces similar testimony — so great was their inconsistency — from Zuingle and ten other Swiss divines. Ruchat says that Zuingle made a formal application to the Bishop of Constance, "*afin que ce Prélat, prenant à cœur une affaire de si grande importance on pût prévenir heureusement les troubles, et faire que tout se passât en bon ordre;*" tome i. livre i. § 7. p. 101: and see Moreri's *Dictionnaire Historique*, in voc. Genève.

¹ Prateolus even makes him the founder of a new sect, to which he gives the title of "*Semi-Lutherani;*" *Elench. Hæret. omn.* Cf. Spondon. ann. 1530. p. 404; and Basnage, liv. xxv. ch. v. Of his expressed desire to retain Episcopacy another says, "*Ad hæc nihil aliud concessimus adversariis, præter ea, quæ Lutherus censuit esse reddenda, re bene ac diligenter deliberata ante conventum.*" *Casauboniana*, p. 23. ed. Wolf.

if they would permit the use of sound doctrine, notwithstanding he was violently opposed by many," adds, "that Luther not only stood by him in this matter, but also put him upon it."¹

It cannot, however, need many words to prove that the author and defender of the Augustan Confession² was a sorrowful and reluctant advocate of 'presbyterianism.' Repudiating, as that famous

¹ Quoted by Brett, ch. v. p. 121. It will be observed that no separate place has been assigned to the testimony of Luther; and this may seem to require explanation. Enough has been said elsewhere to shew that he might have been included in this catalogue; but it seemed better to resign him altogether, and for this reason. The contradictions which mark the writings of almost all the foreign Protestants are in those of Luther so extraordinary, that I believe he has uttered few sentiments which he does not himself somewhere undertake to refute. His temper, too, was so unbridled, that most of his words may be supposed to have been spoken almost at random. "I wish," said his fellow-reformer Calvin—referring to what he calls the "atrocious invectives which he scattered all round him"—"that Luther would be more careful to bridle this intemperance with which he every where rages; I wish he would bestow more pains in detecting his own vices." *Calvini Epist. lvii. Ad Bullingerum*. His friend Erasmus makes a similar complaint; *Epist. ad Ph. Melancthon*. p. 469. Claude apologises for the same ferocity; *Défense*, partie ii. ch. v. p. 136: and others were accustomed to speak of it in still stronger language. If, then, his greatest admirers, even when praising him, speak of him thus, what have *we* to do with him?

² In which it is expressly affirmed, that the Bishops might retain the obedience of the Protestant party, if they would. "Non petunt Ecclesiæ, ut Episcopi *honoris sui jactura* sarciant concordiam, . . . tantum petunt, ut injusta onera remittant, quæ *nova* sunt, et *præter consuetudinem Ecclesiæ Catholicæ recepta* . . . Nunc non id agitur, ut dominatio eripiatur Episcopis, sed *hoc unum* petitur, ut patiantur Evangelium pure doceri." *Art. xxi*. With which compare the strong statement of one of Melancthon's noble patrons: Marchionis Brandenburgensis Electoris *Ad Sigismund. Regem Poloniæ Epist.*, inter *Epist. Melancthonis*, p. 520.

document does, the doctrine of disobedience to the ecclesiastical Rulers, and professing, on the part of all who subscribed it, the most unfeigned desire both to submit to the existing Bishops, and to preserve in perpetuity the sacred order to which they belonged,—it has been commonly regarded as a sufficient token of the deep-rooted unwillingness with which Melancthon co-operated with those violent men amongst whom it was his unhappy lot to dwell.¹ His emphatic avowal of willingness to submit to the jurisdiction of the Bishops, provided they would suffer the Gospel to be freely preached, has been already quoted;² and the remarkable passage in which it occurs is a fair illustration of his tone and temper. He seems, unlike most of his brethren, to have regarded the question in its true light, viz. as a matter of conscience. “*With what conscience,*” he asked, “can we violate the Ecclesiastical polity, if the Bishops will make concessions to us?” In those days, when the extravagance of a man’s creed was only limited by the power of his imagination, and the Holy Scriptures were searched, not for what they actually taught, but for what they could be *made* to teach,³ this way of reasoning was

¹ He says of himself, “Puer etiam in templis singulari voluptate ritus omnes observavi; et natura mea alienissima est ab illa Cyclopica vita, quæ ignorat ordinem actionum, et odit ritus communes velut carcerem.” *Epist.* lii. Cf. *Epist. ad Leonardum*, pp. 187, 392, where he speaks with great severity and earnestness of the “presumption” and “fanaticism” which were so common in his days.

² See page 281.

³ “His quæ volumus, rationem conquirimus, et his quæ studemus, doctrinam coaptamus.” S. Hilarii *De Trinitate*, lib. x. p. 234.

as uncommon as it was just and reverent. The following extracts seem to indicate the influence of this peculiarly religious temper:—

“It is my desire,” said he, “that the form of Church-polity should be preserved. Perhaps I am of a servile disposition—be it so; nevertheless it is my sincere judgment that humility becomes pure minds, *and that the gradations of Ecclesiastical rule ought not to be done away.*”¹

Again: “I would that it might be believed both of myself and many others, that, peace being restored, we desire that the authority of the Bishops *should continue unimpaired*, and judge *that this authority would be most advantageous to the Church.*” And upon this he adds an appeal to “Episcopal clemency” on behalf of “those who refuse not to obey,” confirming his professions by the declaration, that there were then many monstrous opinions ready to start forth whenever an occasion should offer; and that if no counsels were entertained for the speedy and effectual suppression of divisions, new heresies would arise, which would render the unity of the Church in after-times an impossibility.” “These evils (he continues) might in times of tranquillity be guarded against, *especially if the authority of the Bishops should prevail*, and they should undertake the charge of ecclesias-

¹ “*Politiam Ecclesiasticam conservari opto. Fortassis sum ingenio servili; sed tamen vere modestiam esse convenientem bonis mentibus, gradus gubernationis non labefactari, existimo.*” *Epist.* p. 51.

tical affairs. But if we shall obtain peace, I promise, in my own name, and in that of many others, that we will employ all our diligence in enforcing the doctrine of Christ.”¹

To Cardinal Campeggio, after premising the anxiety of his friends to concede to the Bishops their full authority, he thus explains the motive for such obedience: “If even then there should still be, in one or other particular, some slight defect of uniformity, nevertheless, inasmuch as the Churches *would be in subjection to the same Bishops*, no signs of discord would be seen, especially when an agreement should be come to in matters of doctrine. The Bishops, too, might heal by their authority most of the prevailing disorders, *when they should again possess the obedience of the ministers:*”² that is, “Let the corrupted *doctrines* be amended, and there will be no question made of submission to lawful rulers.”

Once more. To a Prelate of that Church in which, by the good providence of God, our own lot has been cast, he writes as follows: “Often do I congratulate your Britain upon the possession of such a Bishop; of whom, *if the Church had but a few more such*, there would be no difficulty in pre-

¹ *Episcopo Augustano*, pp. 58, 59.

² “Ita enim si levis dissimilitudo esset in una atque altera re, tamen quia iisdem Episcopis parerent Ecclesiæ, nulla videri discordia posset, præsertim cum de dogmatibus conveniret. Et Episcopi auctoritate sua pleraque incommoda tempore sanare possent, cum jam iterum haberent obedientes pastores.” *Epist. ad Campegium Cardinalem*, p. 147.

serving its integrity, and in confirming the unity of the whole world.”¹

Such is the testimony of another “reformer” against the wilful lawlessness of modern sectaries. And if, in spite of many signal merits, Melancthon did not wholly escape the influence of the times in which he lived, it should be remembered that few men have ever been more unhappy in their associates. It is impossible, however, to detract so much from his authority, but that it will still be effectual to condemn the guilt and folly of those who revile the sacred order which he strove so vainly to restore, and forsake the Church in which he would have rejoiced to live.

V. Martin Bucer, who has been regarded even by some amongst ourselves as a high authority, speaks on this subject in the same orthodox tone. “Immediately, in the very beginning,” he says, “these perpetual orders of Ministers were appointed by the Holy Ghost, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons.”²

Again: “In all the principal Churches from the times of the Apostles, it was so ordered, that a

¹ “Reverendissime Præsul, . . . sæpe gratulor Britanniaë vestrae talem Episcopum; quales si haberet Ecclesia aliquanto plures, non difficulter et concordia orbis terrarum constitui, et servari Ecclesia posset.” *Episcopo Cantuariensi*, p. 193.

² “Itaque hi ordines ministrorum in Ecclesiis perpetui, et a Spiritu Sancto statim initio constituti sunt, Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, Diaconorum.” *Explicat. de Vi et Usu S. Minist.* Opp. p. 565. Cf. *De Ordinatio. Legit. Minist. Ecc.* p. 259.

certain kind of overseership was committed to all the Presbyters. Nevertheless, even in the Apostles' days, one of the Presbyters was always chosen and ordained to be a governor and a prelate in the discharge of this office. He presided over all the others, and specially, and in the most exalted rank, was entrusted with the cure of souls, and administered the episcopal office."¹

Again: in his most careful work, the *Kingdom of Christ*, he says, "It is proper that an oath should be taken of the Presbyters and Deacons, that, with all fidelity, and the utmost respect, they will, in executing their office in the Churches, obey their Bishop."²

Consistently with this view of the Episcopal or Apostolic discipline, Bucer congratulated the Anglican Church, as we have seen above, upon its singular felicity in possessing true and lawful Bishops, and expressed his earnest desire, that "the goodness of God might extend to other kingdoms the same privilege."³

Peter Martyr, who was also elevated to a distinguished office in one of our own Universities, is, like all the rest, a witness against the strange error of 'presbyterianism.' Describing, with great satisfaction, in one of his letters to Beza, the defection of the Bishop of Troyes from the Roman commu-

¹ *De Animarum Cura*, p. 280.

² *De Regno Christi*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 70.

³ See p. 285; cf. *Gualter. Homil. in 1 Epist. ad Cor.* Præfat.

nion, and the willing obedience rendered to him by the reformed presbyters in his diocese—the Bishop having refused to govern them until they had first deliberated and agreed to obey him—Martyr tells his brother reformer, that “he was received by all unanimously, and acknowledged *as a true Bishop*.” He then speaks of “the great advantage which would accrue to the Church from his authority”—so far was he from assenting to the extravagances of later times—and adds, “God be praised, who ruleth and ordereth after such a manner the kingdom of His Son.”¹

In another place he even seems anxious to claim for the foreign religious bodies a participation in the blessings of that Apostolic discipline, which, on the plea of necessity, they had so unhappily subverted. “There is not a diocese or state amongst us,” he says, “in which one is not chosen out of many pastors, eminent for his learning and experience, whom the churches style ‘Superintendent.’ This person summons together all the rest, admonishes, and *rules* them, according to the word of God.”²

And what this officer was, who is here called by so new and barbarous a title, we are informed

¹ Apud Durell, cap. xxxiv. p. 517.

² “Nulla est enim apud nos diœcesis, aut civitas, ubi non a multis pastoribus deligatur quispiam, doctrina et experientia excellens, quem Ecclesiæ *Superintendentem* vocant. Ille cæteros omnes congregat, monet, regit juxta verbum Dei.” *Defens. Doctr. Vet. de Eucharist.* pars i. p. 208 (ed. 1559).

by another Protestant divine of great repute, who succeeded Martyr himself at Strasburg, when the latter came over to England. The learned Jerome Zanchy thus speaks of him: "As for *the thing itself*, there are not wanting in the Protestant Churches Bishops and Archbishops, whom—changing a good Greek word into a bad Latin one—they call 'Superintendents' and 'General Superintendents.'"¹ It seems, therefore, from their own declarations, that they were only imitating, in their uncouth way, that holy order of the primitive Church which our moderns affect to despise, but from which the first Protestants, if we may believe their own solemn assertions,² would never have departed, if they could have shared that happy lot which they so much envied in the English Church.

VI. The testimony of the celebrated Dr. Peter Du Moulin, which shall be cited next, deserves a

¹ *In Confess. Fidei.* Mason, in his defence of their ordinations, says, "how can they disallow the pre-eminence of Bishops, seeing their Superintendents are nothing but Bishops? For when the *name* Bishop was grown odious, by reason of abuses in the Popish Prelates, they, retaining the dignity itself, changed the *word* Bishop into Superintendent, which is equivalent in signification."

² As, for instance, the profession of the whole Protestant body in the year 1530. "Quantum in nobis fuit, auctoritatem et jurisdictionem Episcoporum hactenus *fulcire et stabilire* conati sumus." And again; "Opera etiam dabitur, ne Episcoporum auctoritati ac honori aliquid detraheretur seu derogetur." And once more; "Episcoporum jurisdictio, ad res spirituales spectans, *nequaquam oppugnetur.*" Vide Seckendorff. *Hist. Lutheran.* t. i. 179. If the Bishops had granted a reformation—and no one denies that it was needed—would the 'presbyterian' scheme have ever been invented?

separate notice. Learned beyond most of his contemporaries, and called to fill successively the theological chair in the Protestant schools of Paris and Sedan, he seems to have been in many respects one of the most conspicuous divines of his age. At the synod of Dort, though he was not personally present, his written judgment on the five Articles of the Remonstrants was read by Diodati before the whole assembly.¹ And so great was his reputation, that we are informed, on the authority of his son, that the Bishop of Poitiers, the President of Bourdeaux, and others, “were instruments of the Court of Rome and the popish Clergy, to tempt him from time to time, with great preferments, to forsake the Protestant cause.” The same writer adds, “that he was the object of the public hatred of the Romanists.”²

If ever, therefore, there was an advocate who might be trusted to speak in behalf of the cause to which he was attached, and the party of which he was so distinguished an ornament, Du Moulin is surely such a person. Private interests could not sway the judgment of a man who had rejected the most splendid offers of the Roman Court, and his own writings will shew that he was as little influenced by personal resentments. To these, as the safest expositors of his real opinions, we will at

¹ Vide *Act. Synod. Dordrecht.* sess. 143. p. 334.

² *Novelty of Popery*, Preface. “Petrus Molinæus Calvinistarum hodie signifer ;” Albaspinæus, *In S. Optat. Milevit.* obs. iv.

once refer; and first to his famous correspondence with our great and good Bishop Andrewes.

Du Moulin had been reproached, it seems, for the use of certain objectionable phraseology in speaking of the government of the Church. To this serious charge he offers to the Bishop the following reply: "That the Episcopal order and authority was rather of ecclesiastical than of divine institution, I confess myself to have said. But besides that I spoke otherwise than I believed, do you yourself judge whether it was possible for a prudent and discreet man, being himself a Frenchman, and living under the polity of the French Church, to speak in any other way, *unless he were ready to incur the condemnation of our Synods, and to be forced, under the penalty of rejection from his office, to recant his words.*"¹ It is quite unneces-

¹ Petri Molinæi *Epist.* i. Saravia tells a story of Peter Villerius, who happened at a certain clerical meeting to drop some expressions of regret at the suppression of the Episcopal order, and who was greeted thereupon with angry reproaches for his 'ambition;' and he adds, "what could I do? *I was afraid* to defend him, although I was of the same opinion, lest I should incur a similar charge myself." *De Divers. Minist. Grad. Lectori.* The truth seems to be, that in the reformed communities the boasted "right of private judgment" was prudently permitted only to a few; the leaders in the different 'churches' kept it all to themselves. "In France," says the learned Maurice, "while the reformed Religion stood there, if any departed from the *established order* of those churches, they were excommunicated; and if they should attempt to set up separate congregations, they would have been accounted *no churches* Nor is it otherwise in Holland or Germany, or wherever the reformed Religion is received; they unchurch all who, upon such frivolous pretences as our dissenters use against us, would leave their communion." *Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy*, p. 451.

sary, and would be painful, to offer any comment upon such a confession.¹ One observation, however, may be made. We have seen above, upon various testimony, that the most eminent of the foreign Protestants disowned, on its first institution, the human system under which they reluctantly lived. From this remarkable saying of Du Moulin's it appears, further, that many others, who endured the same bondage at a later period, would have disowned it too, if they had dared.

Again: Bishop Andrewes had referred Du Moulin to the uniform witness of antiquity, in proof of the divine institution of Episcopacy. "I do not contest the matter," was his answer; "for so indeed the ancients declare."² And then, admitting that this was a truth which could not be gainsayed, he adds as before, that he could not openly assert it, nor act upon his own principles, lest he should be forced to condemn the Church to which he belonged.

Elsewhere he desires the Bishop to remember how, in one of his writings, he had "honourably mentioned the Bishops of England. I have there derived the Episcopal dignity," he continues, "from the very earliest origin of the Church. I have pronounced condemnation upon Acrius. I have confessed that James himself was Bishop of Jerusalem,

¹ Unless we may apply the defence which Lactantius offers for Cicero's false philosophy: "Verum hæc non est Ciceronis culpa, sed sectæ."

² "Non pugno; sic enim loquuntur veteres." *Epist.* iii. p. 180.

from whom, in a long series, the succession of Bishops in the same city is deduced. One thing only I have left undone—*I have not pronounced my own Church to be heretical.*¹ This, perhaps, it was too much to expect him to do, and his verbal testimony against it was sufficiently conclusive, without the overt act of separation. He sums up all by professing his anxious wish that his venerable correspondent might know “how ardently desirous he was of unity, and that all the Reformed Churches, which were united by the same faith, should be also bound together *by the bonds of the same Ecclesiastical government.*”²

It only remains to be added, in justice to a man who possessed the esteem of the wise and holy Hammond, that Dr. Du Moulin did not always keep back, from those amongst whom he laboured, the avowal of his real sentiments. In one of the Acts of the University of Sedan, he proposed and publicly defended the following thesis: “*We affirm that the Bishops of England, after their conversion and abjuration of popery, were faithful servants of God, and that they ought not to forsake the office or title of Bishop.*”³ And his son has reported that “he was a known friend, not only to the doctrine, but also to the discipline of the Church of England, which he hath commended in many places of his published works, and even in his private annotations to his Bible, which I keep by me.”⁴

¹ *Ibid.* p. 184.

² p. 185.

³ Vide *Thes. Sedanens.* tom. i. p. 884.

⁴ *Ubi supra.*

VII. Of Hugo Grotius, whose judgment we will now hear, it is altogether needless to say any thing by way of introduction. The language in which this great man spoke of the miserable ecclesiastical system under which he was compelled to live, and which he had once admired, is something more than disrespectful. The arguments of the 'presbyterians' among whom his lot was cast, he does not even notice; contenting himself with the declaration, that "they were so absurd and repugnant to Holy Scripture as to be unworthy of confutation."¹ The divine origin of the Episcopal office and order he regarded as an unquestionable *fact*, demonstrable from the Scriptures and the teaching and practice of the primitive saints.² And it was his serious admonition to the foreign Protestants, to employ their utmost diligence in reviving those holy ordinances of the Apostolic Church, the observance of which they had so rashly and unadvisedly neglected.³

His admiration of the English Church has been noticed elsewhere. Dr. Hammond did not think his praises unworthy of an acknowledgment, and has remarked upon "the signal value and kindness

¹ *Discuss. de Primatu Papæ.*

² *De Imper. Summ. Potest. circa Sacra*, cap. xi. § 5.

³ And we find them angrily answering his rebukes for having cast out their Bishops. Vide Sibrand. Lubbert. *Resp. ad Pietatem H. Grotii*, Præfat. In one place Grotius says very plainly, "Protestantes vere monendos censeo . . . ut Canones Apostolicos, et alios ævi proximi, in usum revocent, tum in rebus aliis, tum maxime circa electiones Episcoporum ac Presbyterorum." *Annot. ad Cassand. Consult.* p. 50. ed. Amsterdam, 1642.

which, in his lifetime, he constantly professed to pay to this Church and nation; expressing his opinion, that ‘of all Churches in the world, it was the most careful observer and transcriber of Primitive Antiquity,’ and more than intimating his desire to end his days in the bosom and communion of our Mother.”¹ On this point, for more reasons than one, some further evidence shall be offered.

Le Clerc, in the appendix to his edition of a work of Grotius before referred to, quotes, amongst other papers, a letter of Francis Cholmondely, which contains the following account of that eminent statesman and divine: “That which you desire to know of me concerning Hugo Grotius, who was one of the greatest men that ever any age produced, is this. It happened that I came to Paris a little after the transaction of that matter. Being very well acquainted with Dr. Crowder, he often told me with assurance, that it was the last advice this great man gave to his wife (as he thought it was his duty), that *he declared he died in the communion of the Church of England, in which Church he wished her to live.*”² And this advice, as Cholmondely proceeds to relate, his wife acted upon; and Sir Spencer Compton, son of Lord Northampton, “told him (Cholmondely) that he was present when Grotius’ widow professed this, and received

¹ *Defence of Grotius*, continuation, p. 29.

² Letter of F. Cholmondely to A. Forrester, apud Le Clerc, pp. 350-2.

the Sacrament." Archbishop Bramhall — at whose hands Grotius had recommended some of the foreign divines to receive ordination for the office of a Bishop, "that they might afterwards be qualified to ordain other Pastors"—confirms this account of his own personal knowledge.¹

"Both myself," says that great Prelate, "and many others, *have seen* his wife, in obedience to her husband's commands, which she declared publicly to the world, to repair often to our Prayers and Sacraments, and to bring at least one of his grandchildren to Sir Richard Brown's house, then resident for the king in Paris, to be baptised into the faith and communion of the Church of England, and be made a member thereof, as it was accordingly."² And yet a great authority of the Roman Catholic Communion in this age and country—moved, as it seems, by the natural desire to procure for the novelties of his Church the sanction of so deeply learned a writer—has ventured to assert, that, if he had not been prevented by an untimely death, Grotius intended to have embraced the Romish faith.³ To persons of this class, as well as to the other sectaries in this kingdom—against whose errors Grotius is as valuable a witness as any mere modern can be—it seems enough

¹ And Pierce gives the statement of the Lutheran minister who attended his death-bed. *New Discoverer*, p. 26.

² *Vindication of Grotius*, ch. ii. p. 612.

³ Vide *Dublin Review*, vol. x.

to reply with the venerable Bramhall, "If any man think that he knoweth Grotius his mind better by conjectural consequences than he did himself, or that he would dissemble with his wife and children upon his death-bed, he may enjoy his own opinion to himself, but he will find few to join with him."¹

VIII. Of foreign Protestants two more only shall be quoted; and these, that we may conclude with an extreme case, both strenuous advocates of 'presbyterianism.' The names of David Blondel and Salmasius—the most zealous, unscrupulous, and certainly the most learned of all the defenders of the Genevan platform—are identified with the cause with which they were so prominently connected. Yet even these men—οἱ ἀεὶ σχισματικοί,² as they were—are witnesses against the error which they were hired to maintain, and were constrained, like Balaam of old, to resign the wages which were proffered to them, and to pronounce a blessing where they were bid only to curse.

Whether Blondel's original intention was to write, as there is reason for supposing, not against but in favour of Episcopacy, is not perhaps worth

¹ Casaubon's admiration of the Anglican Church was quite as enthusiastic as that of Grotius. See the valuable remarks in the dedication of his *Exercitat. de Rebus Sacris* (Genevæ, 1555); and in his letters to Heinsius, pp. 84 and 108, and to Grotius, p. 266, ed. Hagæ, 1638.

² The term applied by St. Athanasius to the Meletians—*Apolog.* tom. i. p. 739—who were first Puritans and then Arians,—as our modern sectaries now sink into Socinianism.

debating.¹ He did, at all events, at the call of the English ‘presbyterians,’ compose the work which bears his name. Of its general contents there is no need to speak here.² It is enough to say, that that work, written under such auspices, and with such an object, concluded, when it first came from Blondel’s hands, with these notable words: “By all that we have said to assert the rights of the presbytery, we do not intend to invalidate the ancient *and Apostolical constitution* of Episcopal pre-eminence. But we believe that wheresoever it is established conformably to the ancient Canons, it must be carefully preserved; and wheresoever, *by some heat of contention*, or otherwise, it has been put down or violated, *it ought to be reverently restored.*”³

What a cause is this, which is compelled to confront even its own champions, and to sustain itself by pulling down to-day the very supports by

¹ Of his laborious readings Sir H. Yelverton says, “if fame be true, collected at first to be the materials of a discourse he intended for Episcopacy.” *Prefatory Epistle*, p. 15.

² Though it is worth noticing, that, as Bishop Lloyd observes, “in that laborious collection of Blondel’s, which was made for the service of our Presbyterians, he, with all his vast reading, could not find *one* undoubted example of a church of their way in ancient times, but only that of the Scots. And yet for this case he very well knew that he had no author for it who lived within *a thousand years* of the time he asserts.” Bp. Lloyd’s (St. Asaph) *Church Government*, Preface, p. 5. Vide Natalis Alexandri *Dissert. Ecclesiast.* i. p. 156, who learnedly exposes Blondel’s fable; and Bramhall, *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, ch. ix. pp. 134, 5.

³ Quoted by Bishop Skinner, of Aberdeen, in his *Primitive Truth and Order Vindicated*, pp. 332, 3.

which yesterday it was kept from falling! Blondel had ventured to praise what he had been hired to condemn, and his sentence must be reversed. "I pray thee, curse me this people," was the vehement entreaty of his employers, and, as he himself confessed, it prevailed. The Paris agents of the Assembly of Westminster, with urgent and repeated expostulations, besought him not to mar, by his last words, the wholesome doctrine of his previous statements; and the passage which commended Episcopacy as an "*Apostolical constitution*" was cancelled!

The case of Salmasius is, perhaps, still more remarkable. Impetuous and self-confident even to a proverb,¹ the boast of his party, and the very Atlas of 'presbyterianism,' after consuming a whole life in controversies, into which his acrid humours infused an intensity of bitterness unknown even in that age of strife, it would be strange indeed if such a man had ever stooped to make concessions. The error which he had once maintained was sufficiently depressed without this. It was not from such a hand that its partisans looked for further indignities. But the full measure of their humiliation was still lacking; their first masters had left them, one after another, to shift for themselves, and the catalogue of deserters would have been incomplete

¹ "A Senate of Fathers moves him not a hair; a right Monothelite, he opposeth his own will against them all!" Sir H. Spelman's *Apology*.

without the famous name of Claude De Saumaise.¹ It is from his final reply to Milton, the last work of his life, that the following passages are taken.

In a former rejoinder he had severely condemned the English Parliament for casting out the Bishops, even saying, that "the Bishops were necessary, and ought wholly to have been preserved, lest a thousand pestilent sects and heresies should be hatched in England." For this Milton had charged him, as might be expected, with shameful vacillation. His answer is strikingly characteristic.

"When I condemned the order of Bishops," he said, "I did it because, by means of its various steps and gradations, Episcopal ambition had attained to that climax of tyranny which the Bishop of Rome now usurps. And I then wrote in my own person. When I defended the order, I wrote in the king's person, and how could I write against his mind?"² This position, however, he seems to have found uneasy, and so he goes on to give other reasons for speaking so respectfully of Episcopacy :

¹ "M. De Saumaise, étant même jeune, passoit pour le plus grand homme de toute l'Europe, selon Scaliger et Casaubon." *Chevræana, ou Pensées d'Histoire, de Critique, &c.* tome i. p. 129.

² *Ad Joannem Miltonum Resp.* p. 41, opus posthumum, ed. Ph. Chaunce, 1660. This language is an illustration of the proverb, "extremes meet." "Et quoi, mon père! dites-moi en conscience, êtes-vous dans ce sentiment-là? Non, vraiment, me dit le père. Vous parlez donc, continuai-je, contre votre conscience? Point du tout, dit-il. Je ne parlois pas, en cela, selon ma conscience, mais selon celle de Ponce et du P. Bauny." Pascal, *Lettres Provinciales*, num. 5.

“experience,” he says, had taught him to change his mind. “For from the abolition of Episcopacy there followed horrible confusion and disorder of religion; innumerable sects, which till then, as if condemned to hell, had lurked in darkness, rushing on a sudden from every side into the light by the door now opened, *the fear of the Bishops, by whom they were formerly kept in check, being removed.* More than one hundred and fifty monstrous and unheard-of sects are at this hour raging in England. Never could this have been, *if the Churches had continued under the government of the Bishops by whom they were formerly ruled.* Wherefore, then, might not Salmasius, taught by such experience, change his opinion? Who is there that knows not the ‘Retractations’ of Augustine?”¹

With this example of the Saint having, as it seems, eased his conscience, Salmasius now casts away all reserve, and becomes the eloquent apologist of the Bishops. “All that he could do,” says he of the martyr Charles, “to preserve the Bishops, he did. Would to God that he had preserved them! Then, indeed, most justly would he have been styled the Protector of religion. Then so many hydras of impious and impure religions would not now be overrunning and laying waste England. For in what single particular were the Bishops enemies of religion? Or did *they* ever maintain any

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 42, 43.

doctrine contrary to the truth? You dare not say so.”¹

Once more. He is again mocked by Milton for his change of sentiment, and he now plainly tells him, “Salmasius did *not* write against every kind of ecclesiastical primacy, but only against that which was tyrannical, and resembled monarchical sovereignty. The Church never was without a primacy. That which Salmasius could not endure was, that the Pope of Rome, under the name of a primacy in the Church, should arrogate a lordship over all kings and princes. *This was the primacy against which he wrote.*”²

How far Salmasius could make such statements *salvâ fide*, is not, as was said in the case of Beza, our concern. He *did* make them; and if they do seem to be utterly inconsistent with his former opinions, we must remember that they were written at a time when “the lofty looks of man are humbled, and the haughtiness of man bowed down;” when men are coming to their last hour, they instinctively speak the truth. Would that some among us might learn to anticipate the day when they will be fain to imitate the “retractations” of Salmasius!

IX. We have now heard the most distinguished

¹ *Ibid.* p. 117. Edwards, though a presbyterian, makes the same comparison in favour of the Bishops. *Gangræna*, p. 143.

² chap. iii. pp. 346, 7.

foreign advocates of the Genevan system. From Calvin himself, who, in an evil hour of extreme necessity, invented it, to the pious men who groaned under it in secret sorrow during the seventeenth century, there is an unbroken continuity of evidence. Each in his day protests, with more or less earnestness, how humiliating was his condition; and each, with a fervency of language which seems to reproach her own children, celebrates God's bountiful mercies to the Church of England.¹ "Surely there is no enchantment

¹ The learned Samuel Bochart says, that he had often received the Holy Communion at the hands of English Bishops, and that *all* the French pastors would have thought it a privilege to do the same; *Epist. ad Morleium*, p. 13. Amyraut makes a similar profession; *Irenic*. p. 351. Durell quotes many others, of whom a few shall be mentioned. Drelincourt, speaking of France, says, "in this kingdom, as in other countries in which there is not a Bishop who is not in communion with the Bishop of Rome, and a zealous maintainer of popish errors, the very name of a Bishop has become hateful. *But it ought not to be so in England*, where Bishops have abounded who were eminent examples both of rare piety and orthodox doctrine, as well as distinguished instruments in the reformation of the Church." Durell, pp. 520, 21. Maximilian Langlet, who was President, together with Daillé, of many provincial synods, and appointed Professor of Theology by the National Synod of France, wrote as follows to Dr. Brevint: "My heart was filled with joy when the news was brought to me of *the restoration of your Liturgy and ancient Discipline*. It is impossible not to augur well of that Discipline under which the English Church has been for so many years so largely blessed. It matters little what is said by those haters of the Church's peace who go about murmuring every where that the French Churches are inimical to the order of Bishops, as if it were repugnant to the kingdom of Christ, and a relic of Antichrist. *Far be from us so senseless and unadvised a notion*, which neither Daillé, nor Amyraut, nor Bochart, nor any other of my colleagues at Rouen, ever countenanced." *Ibid.* Daillé himself, when charged

against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel." The very aliens are constrained to honour the Mother in whose bosom they were not nurtured; and when her own sons forget their duty and their happiness, then, according to the word of promise, "the sons of strangers build up the walls of Zion."

But it is not only from the dwellers in other countries that this tribute of homage has been received. Not even those disobedient men who in our own land deliberately withstood God's teaching by His Church, and having "forsaken the fountain of living waters, hewed them out cisterns,

by a Jesuit with this very crime—that he was a despiser of Bishops—answered, "So far am I from despising Bishops, as you reproach me, that, on the contrary, I am vehemently indignant as often as I revolve in my mind the injury which the Pope has done them, in depressing them so far below the rank which they enjoyed in the primitive Church It is plain that Calvin himself revered those Bishops who, after throwing off the yoke of the Roman Pontiff, taught the pure doctrine of the Apostles—*such as were the Anglican Prelates.*" pp. 521, 22. "The learned Mr. Turretin, Professor of Church-history at Geneva, asserts that Episcopacy is of *Apostolical* institution." Vide *An Apology for the Foreign Protestant Churches*, &c. p. 5 (ed. 1717). Lastly, the Ministers and University of Geneva, as late as the year 1706, in a letter addressed to the University of Oxford, and dated the 25th of September, "complain of their being misrepresented, as if they were enemies to the constitution of the Church of England and her liturgy, of both which they profess a great esteem, and blame those who, being disaffected to the discipline and liturgy of our Church, *make use of the name of Geneva as favouring their pretences.*" They go on to commend, like all the rest, the "faith" and "ceremonies" of this Church, and say of themselves, that "they have such rites as the government of a commonwealth *and necessity* do require." Quoted by Leslie, *Rehearsals*, no. 182.

broken cisterns, that could hold no water,"—not even these were able to withstand that power of God, by which His enemies are compelled to acknowledge with their own lips those eternal verities which they have vainly laboured to subvert. With a few examples of the more remarkable confessions extorted from such men, this chapter shall be concluded.

The name of Richard Baxter is, I suppose, generally associated with disrespect for the holy order of the Catholic Church, and resistance to her authority.¹ Even if he had not openly defamed her ordinances by hard speeches, yet the whole course of his life would have made it impossible to free him from this reproach. Yet Baxter, like all the rest, is a witness against himself. For, first, he confessed that "the reception of Bishops in all the churches was so early and so general, that he was *free to admit them*."² And again, he even assured Lord Clarendon, "that his *chief reason* for refusing the Episcopate when it was offered to him, Calamy, and Reynolds, and accepted by the latter, was the hope that he should more effectually advance the cause of peace, by retaining a station where his arguments in favour of Episcopacy could be liable to none of those

¹ "The bitterest adversary of truth, reviling the Fathers of the Church, and the Church herself, more than any Presbyterian I ever met with." Pierce's *New Discoverer*, Advertisement.

² *Life*, Calamy's *Abridgment*, &c. chap. vii. vol. i. p. 112. ed. 1713.

suspensions, to which they must be exposed were he himself exalted into the office *for which he became the advocate.*"¹ In this case, as in others noticed above, it is no part of our office to be reconciling the jarring testimony of *words* and *deeds*. If there was, as will not be denied, a conflict between these, it does not concern us to explain it: of this the witnesses themselves are gone long since to give account.² All that *we* need to observe is, the puerile inconstancy, the marvellous and—as it seems—judicial fatuity, which forced from the adversaries such confessions. If both the Church and the Scriptures had been silent upon their error, these strange men have been forward to pronounce sentence upon it themselves.³

¹ Quoted by Short, *History of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 233. Tillotson, whose prejudices were all in favour of presbyterianism, says, that when King Charles II. offered a bishopric to Calamy, then an old man, he "deliberated about it some considerable time, professing to see the great inconvenience of presbyterian parity." Vide Lawson's *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 3.

² Grotius speaks very scornfully of such men, who talked of "reverencing the Bishops," and yet disobeyed them; and asks of one of them, "quid dixit, quod non diceret τῶν καθαρῶν καθαρώτατος? they pretend to honour Bishops too, and I doubt not, if they could make any advantage of them, they would be ready enough to use their assistance." *Ordin. Hollandiæ et Westfrisicæ Pietas*, p. 118.

³ For other confessions of Baxter, see Stillingfleet, *Unreasonableness of Separation*, part ii. § 27. "The Presbyterian dignities," says one who appears to have known them, "were offended because they could not obtain the chiefest dignities of the Church. Mr. Stephen Marshal, a principal Presbyterian, and ringleader of the impious Smectymnuans, did once petition the King for a Deanery, and at another time for a Bishopric! Which because he could not obtain—as the King told him at Holdenby, where he attended upon the

The next instance is an extreme one. The history of Cartwright, the learned antagonist of Hooker and Archbishop Whitgift, is familiar, at least in its outline, to most of us. Sir Henry Yelverton, in his Preface to Bishop Morton, thus describes the origin of the unhappy proceedings in which this famous sectary was a chief agent:—
 “The reason of Cartwright’s first discontent was, that in the exercises that were done before Queen Elizabeth at Cambridge, Dr. Thomas Preston got all the applause, and a pension from the Queen, when he, who was the better scholar, was not taken notice of. This begat in him great discontent and anger; first, at the Queen’s supremacy in ecclesiasticals; and *afterwards*, at all the orders of the Church.” Something of this kind, it is to be feared, is the history of all the self-pleasers who, in these late times, have fallen into Cartwright’s sin. Some private interest or personal resentment, something to be either gained or avenged,—such is in every age and place the motive of schism. Men who have never learned to rule their own spirits, or to bridle their own tongues, undertake to govern the holy Church of Christ; and while their own heady passions are gathering strength day by day, propose themselves as competent reformers of those divine ordinances, in the use of which their

Commissioners—therefore he would overthrow all.” Vide *An Apology for the Bishops to sit and vote in Parliament*, p. 44 (1660). Cf. Foulis’ *History of the wicked Plots and Conspiracies of our pretended Saints*, book iii. ch. i.

wiser forefathers, meekly accepting and adoring the goodness of God, attained unto life and salvation. Cartwright was doubtless a learned man; but other qualifications for the office of a reformer he had none. With him ancients and moderns were equally insignificant. The authority of Clement, Anacletus, Anicetus, Epiphanius, Ambrose, and Sozomen, being urged against him, he calls it "the moving and summoning of hell;" others were "rogues," and "counterfeit," "ignorant," "overmastered of their affections." Even the continental reformers, Luther, Bullinger, Bucer, and others, were but poor sort of people when they differed from him and his brother separatists.¹ Of such a spirit was the most eminent "non-conformist"—to use the world's soft phrase—in an age which was not barren of such pernicious fruits. And it is against such "raging waves" that we are compelled, for our sins, to be still erecting bulwarks from the writings and examples of the old Saints.

But it is not for the sake of recording the extravagances of these men, that their names are mentioned here. We are only concerned with their recantations; and Cartwright's is not less instructive than others already noticed.

During his life he seems to have been more than once visited with compunction at his own doings; and at such seasons of half-repentance

¹ Vide Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 106; and Whitgift's *Defense of the Answer to the Admonition*, p. 403.

“professed and protested” to Archbishop Whitgift—who is said to have been at these times “very courteous unto his old antagonist”—that he would “take no other courses but to draw all men to the unity of the Church :” nevertheless, continuing his schismatical proceedings at Warwick, he was committed to the Fleet prison. At length this famous adversary of the Church came to his end ; of which, on the authority of “a sober person present at his death,” the following account has been preserved. “When he came to die, which he did at Warwick, at the hospital of which Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester”—the great patron of “non-conformists”—“had made him master, he did seriously lament the unnecessary troubles he had caused in the Church, by the schism he had been the great fomenter of; and wished he was to begin his life again, *that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways.* And in this opinion he died.”¹

Lord Clarendon has noted, in his history, more than one remarkable instance of the same kind.² The ‘presbyterian’ Henderson was a chosen agent

¹ Sir H. Yelverton’s *Epistle*, p. 45 ; and *Life of Whitgift*, vol. ii. p. 27.

² And many others might be mentioned. Dr. Cornelius Burges, a preacher notorious beyond most of his confederates, as having sacrilegiously possessed himself of the revenues of the see of Bath and Wells, fell at length into poverty and misery, and, as was much noted at the time, was devoured by “a cancer in his body, answering to the cancer of his schism.” One who knew him says, “Dr. Burges died a very penitent man, frequenting with great zeal and

of the Long Parliament to confer about matters of religion with King Charles the Martyr. It was from him that his Majesty received the proposal, by which peace was offered to him on condition that he should resign the ancient faith, and consent to favour the new religion, of which Henderson was an eminent professor. The task imposed upon this teacher of novelties seems to have been performed with zeal and fidelity. "But the King," says Clarendon, "was too conscientious to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price as was demanded; and he was so much too hard for Mr. Henderson in the argumentation,—as appeared by the papers shortly after communicated to the world,—that the old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of

devotion the divine service of the Church of England till his death, which happened about two years ago." See Dr. Isaac Basire, *On Sacrilege*, Preface to 2d edition, 1668. It was usual at that time to notice the extraordinary judgments which overtook many of the Puritans. Thus a person writing in 1644 to a minister of one of the French protestant communities, calls his attention to many "infallible testimonies of a divine vengeance;" and having mentioned Hampden, who died in the very field in which he first trained the militia against his king, and Lord Brooke, who was shot while storming the house of God, says, "I might adde to the list of such examples that horrible disease of Pym. At the same time that his conscience was gnawed with the vermine of ambition, affecting a tyrannicke power, God gave him lice for food, and made him perish by such a kind of death as once He did those monstrous tyrants Herod and Philip the Second." See *A Letter concerning the present Troubles in England*, p. 15, English translation. A like judgment is said to have befallen the heretic Nestorius, who died from his tongue being gnawed by worms. Vide Evagrii *Ecclesiast. Histor.* lib. i. cap. vii.

the mischief he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidants; and died of grief and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his Majesty."¹

The case of the celebrated Hales deserves a place in this catalogue. Of his approximation to the error of the sectaries, his own writings afford sufficient demonstration. It is, however, unjust that any man should be judged by writings which he has himself desired to recant. "I am by genius open and uncautelous," was his own general apology to Archbishop Laud;² and of the particular errors of his dangerous "Tract on Schism," still much in vogue with those who are willing to imitate every thing but the virtues of this great man, he said expressly, "I could heartily wish,—for in the case I am, I have nothing but good wishes to help me,—that they into whose hands that paper is unluckily fallen, *would favour me so much as to sponge them out.*"³

Having mentioned Laud, it will not be out of

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 31. Dr. Short says that Henderson's whole argument with the King went no further than, "it is not settled in Scripture." *History of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 153. Clarendon mentions elsewhere the case of Lord Pembroke, who had co-operated so zealously in the evil deeds of that day, but afterwards confessed how heartily he and his friends repented of what they had done, and how powerless they were to stem the torrent which had begun to flow. *History of the Rebellion*, book viii. vol. v. p. 72.

² Hales' *Tracts*, p. 217, ed. 1721.

³ *Ibid.* Yet this very tract is referred to in our days, just as if the retractation had never been written.

place to notice the account given by Hales himself to Dr. Heylin of his interview with that Prelate, in which, by the force of reasoning and argument,—or rather, by the good providence of God,—he was so happily reclaimed from his low and sectarian views. He relates, in recording a conference which lasted the whole day, “that he found the Archbishop to be as well versed in books as business; that he had been ferretted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further shelter. That to this end he had obtained leave to call himself his grace’s chaplain, that naming him in his public prayers for his lord and patron, *the greater notice might be taken of the alteration.*”¹

With one more example, and that a notable one, these admissions of adversaries shall be ended. The person whose words are to be quoted was not only, as Dr. Brett observes, “a professed enemy to the established Church of England,” but also the author of the Act commonly entitled the *Root and Branch Bill*, or “Act for the *utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops and Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Canons, and all their under officers.*”² That such a man should ever have discerned his error, was not much

¹ Heylyn’s *Cyprianus Anglicanus*, part ii. book iv. p. 362. See also Hales’ *Letter to Laud*, p. 227.

² See his passionate speech against the Bishops, in Rushworth’s *Historical Collections*, part iii. vol. i. p. 55.

to be expected; that he should confess and forsake it, was indeed wonderful. Yet in the same place in which Sir Edward Deering had advocated so monstrous a proposition, he lived to make the following confession:—"They who deny that ever any such Bishops,—that is, Bishops presiding over Presbyters,—were in the best and purest times, I entreat some one of them, if any such be here, to stand up and shew me, teach me, how I may prove that ever there was an Alexander of Macedon, or a Julius Cæsar, or a William the Conqueror, in the world. For, sir, to me as plain it is that Bishops president have been the constant, permanent, and perpetual Governors of the Church of God in all ages. And this being matter of fact, I do hope that historical proof will be sufficient adequate proof in that which, in its fact, is matter of history. But proofs herein are so manifold and clear, that I borrow the free and true assertion of a worthy and learned gentleman: 'It may be thought want of will, rather than want of light, which makes men deny the antiquity of Bishops in the primitive times.' Therefore, answer not me; but answer Ignatius, answer Clemens, Tertullian, Irenæus—nay, answer the whole undisputed concurrence of the Asian, the European, and the African Churches, all ages, all places, all persons;—answer, I say, all these, *or do as I do, submit to the sufficient evidence of a truth.*"¹

¹ Quoted by Dr. Brett, *Church Government*, chap. v. p. 83; who

X. It only remains now to sum up the foregoing evidence. And surely of all the errors which, from the foundation of the Church to the present hour, have possessed the minds of professing Christians, there was never any, at least in the particular feature under notice, like to this of which we are here speaking. That it should have lingered on through nearly three centuries, in spite of these protests of its own leading advocates, is among the chief marvels of modern history. Without one clear text of Scripture in its behalf,¹ or a solitary example in any Church throughout all ages,² its

adds, "Surely nothing but a most demonstrative truth could have extorted such a speech from a declared enemy to all the Bishops in England, and a professed foe to the Hierarchy."

¹ "Sentences out of the word of God ye allege divers; but so that when the same are discussed, thus it always in a manner falleth out, that what things by virtue thereof ye urge upon us as altogether necessary, are found to be thence collected only by poor and marvellous slight conjectures. I need not give instance in any one sentence so alleged, for that I think the instance in any alleged otherwise a thing not easy to be given." Hooker, *E. P.* Preface, p. 193.

² "A very strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as ye speak of should be taught by Christ and His Apostles in the word of God, and no Church ever have found it out nor received it till this present time; contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves be observed every where throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no Church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it. We require you to find out *but one* Church upon the face of the whole earth that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant." *Ibid.* Our brethren would do better to answer this challenge, than to content themselves with repeating, one after another, the puerilities which have been so often refuted. But we are sure it will receive no reply from them, any more than it did from

first maintainers were willing, as we have seen, that it should appear in its true character, content to excuse it only as a necessary evil, and to plead as its sole but sufficient apology the unparalleled disorders which gave it birth.¹ Abandoned since that time by the very men who invented it, and shuffled as far as possible out of sight by its unwilling advocates in later times,—like some infirmity of which they could not rid themselves, but which they were ashamed to acknowledge,—the present existence of what is called ‘presbyterian-

their predecessors in an earlier age; to whom St. Austin was used to say, “Auferantur chartæ humanæ, sonent voces divinæ. Ede mihi *unam Scripturæ vocem* pro parte Donati; audi innumerabiles pro orbe terrarum.” *De Pastoribus*, cap. xiii. tom. ix. p. 281.

¹ The argument which Melancthon allowed himself to use, when it had become necessary that the unordained preachers should either defend their vocation upon some *new* ground, or confess themselves to be only laymen, was this: “The power of the keys and of ordination must reside in the whole Church. If, therefore, the Bishops become enemies of the Church, or withhold ordination, *Ecclesiæ retinent jus suum.*” *De Potestate Episcoporum*. Dangerous and mistaken as such a notion is, it would not, even if it were true, help our brethren; because *their* Bishops Melancthon commended as the Church’s best servants, and they do not withhold the imposition of hands. The language of the Magdeburg Confession agrees with the above. “Retinet Ecclesia administrationem *in necessitate*, sicubi ministrorum copia fieri in partibus necessariis *non potest.*” Cap. vi. *De Ecclesia et Ministris ejus*. Every one sees that the theory of this article was suggested by the case to which it was intended to apply. Still it is fatal to our sectaries, who can of course pretend to no such “necessity.” These men too, we may suppose, would not have used such an argument unless they had some esteem for that which, as they themselves protest, they were *forced* to resign. They did not resign it willingly, or why should they plead “*necessity*?” Why not, like our separatists, affect to rejoice in being rid of it?

ism' is one of the most humiliating facts which these latter days offer to our contemplation. Originating in rebellion, and established by violence, in every land where it has hitherto been set up,¹ it was to be expected that this device of human ingenuity should still be upheld by the profane and disobedient. But that it should number amongst its willing captives the gentle and the good, that it should usurp the affections of many to whose virtues we bear willing testimony, and by whose pure examples we would gladly profit,—this indeed is a thought to awaken sorrowful indignation. And whither will our brethren, who are not ashamed to renew these discarded follies, and to feed upon the husks which others have flung aside,—whither will

¹ England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, France, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Switzerland, have all the same tale to tell of the origin of this form of discipline. Its history in the first five countries here named is sufficiently notorious. In Sweden and Denmark it was by a decree of the civil power that Episcopacy was abolished, after the Catholics had been subdued by force of arms. In Poland the opposition to the Bishops seems to have been originated by the nobility, who hated them for their efforts to maintain discipline, and especially for their punishment of those who violated their vows of chastity. Vide *Regenvolscii Histor. Ecclesiast. Slavonic. Provinc.* lib. ii. p. 209. In Geneva itself, the Bishop, M. Pierre de la Baume, who was also, as Prelate of that city, a temporal prince, was forcibly expelled, and an army raised in opposition to his authority as the supreme civil governor. Whether they could have procured a reformation without this violence, is another matter; any how it is a significant fact, that the presbyterian 'reformation' was also, in every place, a *revolution*. On the complex character of the Bishop of Geneva, which is a point of some importance in this controversy, see the anonymous *Histoire de France*, tome ii. livre v. p. 424.

they turn for sympathy in their lot of needless and voluntary penury? Not to those Holy Oracles of which almost every page is an admonition upon their error; not to that long line of saints and martyrs whose reproaches we are loath, for the love we bear them, even to repeat; not to the example of those few moderns who submitted to the same lot only because they could not escape from it, and who, almost without exception—some at one period of life, some at another—confessed and repented their error;—from none of these can they gather comfort. To whom, then, will they go?¹ On every side they find a waste and a solitude. In the common forefathers of the flock of Christ they see only that sainted company by whom their inventions have been branded as sacrilege, and themselves as aliens and rebels, and against whom, in turn, every act of their religious life is a proclamation of contempt and defiance. And when they turn to their own masters and teachers, from whom at least they might expect sympathy, they too refuse to accept their unwelcome alliance, and bid them coldly shift for themselves.

It is to the illustration of this last circumstance, peculiar, I believe, to the strange error under consideration,—for what heresy but this was ever condemned by its own author?—that the present chap-

¹ Τίνων οὖν εἰς κληρονόμοι καὶ διάδοχοι; S. Athanas. *Ad Africanos Episc. Epist.* tom. i. p. 937.

ter has been devoted. Of the later sections several might, without prejudice to the argument, have been omitted, because it was upon the confessions of the *first* 'Presbyterians' only that it was founded. If *they* chose to witness against their own scheme, even at its first setting up, it was of less moment that their disciples did so after them. Yet this later testimony is not without its value; and for this reason:—

As long as the vocation of unordained persons was defended as "extraordinary," and Calvin and Beza claimed to represent, not the lawful and ordinary pastor, but the old prophets of the Jewish Church, the Genevan or any other form of polity might be maintained—even by men professing, as they did, the utmost reverence for antiquity—without any great embarrassment. Example and precedent were no stumbling-blocks in their case, even though they admitted their authority in that of others; because the obligation of these was assumed to be suspended, so far as they were concerned, by the very claim which they asserted to an immediate and supernatural calling. It was not, therefore, an absolute surrender of their cause when they admitted, as they did so freely, the pre-eminence of Bishops. The independent ministry of the old Prophets did not imply any antagonism to the established ecclesiastical order; the two were perfectly consistent, and they were admitted to be so. Only the one was framed for continuance,—

“an ordinance for ever;” the other was designed merely for a temporary object. And here the Calvinistic system, in spite, or rather because of its bold pretences, failed. The day arrived when it was necessary that the first “reformers” should devolve upon others the office which they had themselves ventured to exercise. But it was not to be expected that men should concede to this new race of teachers the rank of “Prophets.” They must be content to take a lower station. And now the difficulties, which the audacity of Calvin’s theology had eluded for the moment, began to be felt. It was no disadvantage in his own case, or that of his contemporaries, that they had lauded the ancient hierarchy, because they professed to act, not against, but independently of it; but what ground were their successors to take? They could not lay claim to the *ordinary* vocation, without abandoning their first pretence, and convicting themselves of imposture. Yet the alternative was, to resign their station; and this they had no mind to do. Authority and power, which they acquired under the sanction of imperious necessity, was of too pleasant a savour to be easily resigned; they had possessed themselves of it on one plea, and they must frame a new one in order to retain it. If the Bishops at this critical moment would have consented to confer ordination, all might have been well; but they would not, and it became necessary to proclaim thenceforward that the Church

could do without them. The fatal admissions of Calvin and Luther, of Melancthon and Beza, must be blotted out; and from that time the new doctrine of 'Presbyterianism' was added to the thousand errors to which a too-violent reaction from the intolerable abuses of a corrupt Church had already given birth.

It is in the writings of the first generation of "reformers" that the statements are found by which the truth of this history of the rise and progress of 'Presbyterianism' is proved; and to their writings it would have sufficed to appeal. But, as I have said, the confessions of its later advocates — if they can be styled advocates who claimed for it little more than charitable forbearance — are not without value. The distinction to be noticed between their admissions and those of their predecessors is this, that whereas the bold pretensions of the latter were not immediately compromised by their professed admiration of the primitive discipline, it was impossible for others, who affected no immediate or extraordinary calling, to repeat the same admissions without pronouncing with the same breath their own condemnation. Yet they *did* repeat them — they did acknowledge Episcopacy to be of Apostolical institution; and accordingly they were compelled to ask that they might not be reproached with their own words, nor forced to accept the conclusions to which their own premises led. "One thing only I have left undone,"

said the learned Du Moulin, after frankly conceding every thing, "I have not pronounced my own Church to be heretical." Permission to be silent on that point was the sum of his desires; and not to be put to open shame was the humble request of the most accomplished and distinguished 'Presbyterian' of his age!

Such is the extraordinary error which men, no way debarred from informing themselves of the history of the Church, are still found to maintain. That it should have survived so long in any community whatever, is surprising; but that it should seek to pass for truth, and even assume an attitude of complacent superiority, amongst a people who were regarded by its own authors as greatly blessed, because they retained those very ordinances with which this new religion ventures to dispense — this, indeed, even when we have made the largest allowance for the tyranny of self-love, and prejudice, and passion, is both a perplexing and humiliating fact. "If there shall be any who will not reverence true Bishops," said Calvin, "there is no anathema but I confess them worthy of it." And "if there be any, which you will not easily persuade me to believe," adds his disciple Beza, "who reject the whole order of Episcopacy, God forbid that any man in his senses should assent to their madness." Yet there are some amongst ourselves who have not feared to avow openly the silly profaneness which even these men affected to regard

as "incredible," and to lift up their heel against the Church which they thought it necessary to commend as the purest and happiest in Christendom.¹

One remark in conclusion. It is plain that, whatever else may be taken for granted by those who occupy so new and strange a position in relation to the Church of God, this must be included amongst their necessary postulates — that they are, beyond all other men, in any age or place, the objects of His special favour and guidance. Painful as such a tenet must be to humble minds, they cannot shrink from asserting it. It is assumed in every article of their new faith, of which the substance is, in a few words, as follows. That after suffering, during fifteen centuries, the suppression of His own original Institution, and the erection in

¹ "Here then let us consider and beware of the fatal progress of error! Calvin, and the reformers with him, set up presbyterian government, as they pretended, by necessity, but still kept up and professed the highest regard to the episcopal character and authority: but those who pretend to follow their example have utterly abdicated the whole order of episcopacy, as antichristian and an insupportable grievance, while at the same time they would seem to pay the greatest reverence to these reformers, and much more to the first and purest ages of Christianity, whose fathers and councils spoke all the high things before quoted in behalf of Episcopacy, far beyond the language of our later apologists for that hierarchy, or what durst now be repeated, except from such unquestionable authority. In this they imitate the hardness of the Jews, who built the sepulchres of those prophets whom their fathers slew, while at the same time they adhered to and outdid the wickedness of their fathers in persecuting the successors of those prophets." Leslie, *On the Qualifications necessary to administer the Sacraments*, Works, vol. vii. p. 182. ed. Oxon.

its stead of a mere human system, God was pleased, at length, to vindicate His appointment from this corruption which had overlaid it. His saints and martyrs He had indeed permitted, during so many ages, to live and die in error; even allowing them to condemn with dreadful censures that which was all the while, though they knew it not, the true form of His Church, and to laud with extravagant praises that which was only, though they knew not this either, a departure from it. At length the generation arose to which, on this hypothesis, the new revelation was vouchsafed. The pure ordinances and the holy order of the Apostolic Church were again restored, and the blessings which had been withheld, in spite of manifold promises, from the men of every other age, were granted to their more favoured successors in this.

It was, indeed, somewhat strange that they who were distinguished by these peculiar favours should have been themselves unconscious of their own privilege; and that, in entering upon their new state, they should ignorantly speak of it as one which they embraced only from hard "necessity," and which they hoped shortly to exchange for a better. It was an unthankful perverseness, that they persisted still in commending the corrupt ecclesiastical polity, and in eagerly desiring that it might be retained. But if they did not know their own happiness, no doubt they ought to have done so; and our brethren who judge that all former

Christians were so miserably deceived, need not hesitate to add these few to the number. But this by the way.

Whether men were at first aware of it or not, we are bid, at all events, to understand, that the setting up of the 'presbyterian' form of government in the sixteenth century was, in fact, the revival of the apostolical polity, and *therefore* an inestimable blessing. Now it is not too much to expect, that this wonderful dispensation should have been attended with some corresponding benefits to mankind and to the cause of religion. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that so distinguishing and unparalleled a mercy as, by hypothesis, this must have been, should have been accompanied by a revival of holiness, and a zealous maintenance of that pure faith with which holiness is inseparably connected. Our brethren, we may suppose, will admit this, unless they are content to be regarded of the whole world as mere triflers. And now, what have the facts been? This shall be our next and final inquiry.

And since the adversary rejects as insufficient the clear evidence of Holy Scripture, the uniform and unvaried testimony of Antiquity, and even the witness of those moderns whom he has chosen for his proper masters and teachers, it remains only to refer him, in the last place, to *the development of his own principles*; to use a test from which he would not be thought to shrink, and to shew that,

in every land throughout the world, and under every modification of external circumstances under which this boasted revival of the primitive polity has been set up, *it has declined with greater or less rapidity, but by an unfailing law of retrogression, to one or other form of unbelief or apostasy*; and is at this moment in close alliance, in every quarter of the globe, with the God-denying heresy of Socinus. We do not expect that ordinary considerations of prudence or duty will prevail with those who have been once entangled in the snares of error; but this is a fact which, when it shall be proved, even they may be unwilling to despise.

CHAPTER V.

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SYSTEMS.

I. THE criterion by which we are about, in the last place, to try the religious systems of modern days, is one from which, as I have said, the adversaries themselves would not willingly be supposed to shrink. The least suspicion of reluctance on their part to encounter a test at once so fair and so searching, would be an evil omen for their cause. And it must be confessed that they have not refused, in times past, so long as the ordeal was comparatively a safe one, to be judged by the visible tendencies and historical developments of the principles which they have been accustomed to profess.¹ It is to these developments, as they are exhibited throughout the world at the present hour, that we are now going to refer.

Nor have we any reason to suppose that the judgment founded upon them will be regarded as fanciful or unjust. It is indeed to *visible results*

¹ Witness the replies made by Basnage and others, in the name of the Protestant party, to Bossuet's celebrated *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*.

that religious no less than political empiricism has ever been eager to point attention. To these it still professes to appeal; and studiously to cast a veil over them, and to insist, in this particular case alone, upon confining controversy within the limits of abstract or speculative reasonings, would be a departure from their usual method too significant to be ventured upon by the religionists with whom we have to do. It would, moreover, be fatally inconsistent with the claim to a special illumination, and the hypothesis of a new revelation, which, as I have noticed above, their whole case requires and presupposes.¹

It might even be said, that the argument, upon which it is here proposed to enter, is only borrowed from the forefathers—for they have an ancestry, though it be of yesterday—of the present race of sectaries. It was often in the mouth of their predecessors of the Caroline era. “*The tree is known by the fruit,*” said the ‘presbyterian’ Edwards, quoting Scripture against men who had ventured to improve upon the example which he and his party had set them: “*a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit;* and so we may judge of the ‘Independent’ way by these fruits. . . . We may by this catalogue of heresies” (which the ‘Independent’ doctrine had generated) “see the truth of that spoken of by many divines, both fathers and modern writers, that *schism* makes way to *heresy*, and separation from the Church

¹ See Hooker, *Preface*, ch. iii. p. 186.

to separation from the Head."¹ An edifying remark, on many accounts, and one which we need not hesitate to adopt even from such a source.

"The hand of God is gone out against you," was the confident reproach of Baxter—using precisely the same argument—against those who separated from the "conventicles of vanity"² within which he would have restrained them. "You see," said he, with the full assurance of his class, "*you do but prepare yourselves for a further progress. Seekers, Ranters, Quakers, and too many professed infidels, do spring up from among you.*"³

This reasoning, then, I repeat, is not new; it was familiar, not very long since, to the enemies of the Church, and why should it not be employed in her defence? It was once used by them in their struggles against each other: let us see what it may effect in our behalf against them all.⁴

¹ *Gangræna*, chap. v. p. 125. Sir R. L'Estrange has collected many such observations in his *Dissenters' Sayings against Toleration*.

² Aug. *Contra Ep. Parmen.* lib. iii. cap. v.

³ "Parties will arise in the separated churches," he adds, "and separate themselves from them, till they are dissolved." See *No Protestant, but the Dissenters' Plot*, p. 185, ed. 1682. "We cannot," says another, "but sadly look upon and lament over the woeful effects of the *separation*. How hath God born witnesse against it in our sight, as heretofore in Germany! Into what errors, heresies, blasphemies, &c. have thousands run! We call these, and might name many particulars under these, *effects* of the separation; we think they are more than consequences." Fowler's *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 178 (1655): and this was addressed to Cromwell himself.

⁴ "Presbyteriall government," said Edwards, "as soon as an error doth but peep out will find it, and take it single before it grows into a body, and crush it in the egg before it comes to be a flying

Now there are, in fact, two distinct methods in which an inquiry into the development of religious systems of human origin may be conducted, and the oneness of schism and heresy demonstrated. The first is, by the use of *à priori* arguments only,—by tracing what a modern writer calls the “philosophical connexion” between the two, and the identity of their primary principles; and this has often been done with great power and effect, though not perhaps with the accuracy and minuteness which the subject deserves. The other is simpler, and takes the reverse order; pointing, wherever it can, to the actual history of separation, marking its gradual declension to misbelief, its rapid and silent but uniform progress from innovation in Discipline to corruption in Doctrine. This latter method deals with facts rather than principles, and is perhaps the more practical of the two; and as it may be pursued with more facility, as well as with far greater effectiveness, it is the one to which I intend here mainly to confine myself.

The history of the Church, to which we must refer for these facts, presents to us, at different epochs, three remarkable heresies, which appear, each in its respective era, to have either wholly absorbed into themselves, or at least to have power-serpent:” and then he instances as follows; “Where have we ever heard of or found in the church of Scotland, France, &c. such things as in the Independent churches?” p. 177. We are going to take him, therefore, at his word, and try ‘presbytery’ by his own test.

fully affected and modified, the various minor sects which were contemporaneous with them. Of these the earliest, which arose in the time of the Apostles and prevailed throughout the following age, was Gnosticism; it was succeeded, at a somewhat later period, by Arianism; and now, in our own day, Socinianism maintains a kindred relation to, and exerts a similar influence over, the ever-shifting and fluctuating communities which occupy with respect to the Church the position of the ancient separatists.

(1.) Of the first of these it would be inaccurate to speak as affording an instance of the operation of that uniform law of declension from schism to heresy, which we are about to trace; because it was not originated, like the others, by separation from the one Catholic Church.¹ I shall pass over it, therefore, altogether; remarking only that, at least in two particulars, its history exhibits the invariable features of subsequent ecclesiastical schisms,—namely, the practice of all headstrong and licentious disobedience under the plea of spiritual liberty,² and the gradual *progress* from bad to worse. Hateful as it was even in its outset, this system seems to have assumed by degrees, as it received the ac-

¹ Bishop Bull, however, was of opinion that the Arians were derived from the Gnostics. *Def. Fid. Nic.* vol. v. p. 100.

² “Πρῶτον αὐτὴν ψεῦδος, sive fundamentum, tam absurdis dogmatibus substructum, fuisse contendit prætextum libertatis creditibus per Christum acquisitæ.” F. Buddei *De Statu Eccles. Christ. sub Apost.* cap. v. § 3. p. 598.

cession of sect after sect,—Carpocratians, Menandrians, Basilidians, Marcionites, Valentinians, and others,—an aspect of yet more fearful and unmingled evil.¹ In this respect we shall see hereafter an exact parallelism between its course and that of the modern sects.

(2.) The history of Arianism supplies more precise and remarkable instances of the same downward progress. The full extent of the fatal influence which this heresy exerted over various bodies of early separatists, it would be very difficult to trace; and the attempt to estimate it accurately would carry us—if indeed it could be accomplished at all—far beyond our proposed limits. Enough, however, of its mischievous course may be noticed, and that in very few words, to shew that inseparable connexion between schism and heresy, which was asserted even in the earlier ages of Christianity, and which later and fuller developments have finally confirmed and demonstrated.

The progress of the famous Meletian schism is the one to which, as illustrating this connexion, I shall first refer. Its history is, briefly, as follows. Peter, the Bishop of Alexandria, had been compelled, during the persecution of Maximinus, to avoid death by flight. His patriarchate being thus deprived of its chief ruler, as well as of other bishops, to whom the storm proved yet more fatal

¹ Grabe remarks particularly of Valentinus, “eum non omnes ab initio errores simul protulisse.” *Spicileg.* tom. ii. p. 48.

than to himself, became exposed to manifold evils. Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis in Lower Egypt, taking advantage of the absence of Peter and the other prelates, assumed to himself the exercise of authority over the vacant dioceses. The remonstrances and expostulations of the absent and imprisoned bishops produced no effect; and upon the death of those who were confined in that city, his ambition carried him to Alexandria, the chief of the now deserted sees. Having corrupted some of the presbyters who had been left there by Peter, he became the head of a powerful party. His own safety during the persecution he is said to have purchased by consenting publicly to offer sacrifice before the heathen magistrate. After the lapse of some years Peter returned, and Meletius was deposed: from that time the Meletian schism was fully organised. It is only necessary to add, that the Meletians affected, like the puritans in later times, to charge their separation upon the corrupt and lax state of the Church; and that, like them also, they were treated, so long as there was any hope of their repentance, with the utmost gentleness and forbearance.¹

Thus far we have only the story of every ordinary schism. First, lust of power and authority; then, treachery and fraud to obtain them; and, in the end, open violence and rebellion, justified by

¹ Vide Socratis *Hist. Ecc.* lib. i. cap. vi.; and S. Philastrii *De Hæresibus*, cap. xc. p. 173.

some specious plea, or glossed over by some abused text of Scripture. It is the progress and final termination of this schism which deserves special notice; and that because of its exact agreement with the history of later sects. The Meletians, finding it difficult to contend single-handed, formed a political alliance with the Arians. Having been formerly at variance, they were now, as St. Athanasius observes,¹ like Pilot and Herod, made friends together. Counting the integrity of the faith—which they still professed to hold—of less moment than the indulgence of their malice and revenge, they banded together, like their successors in our own day, in common warfare against the Church; from unwilling allies they became fast friends; and were finally swallowed up in the vortex of that heresy against which they had once zealously contended.²

The case of Acrius, the first ‘presbyterian,’ is different in no respect from that of the Meletians. Having failed to procure for himself a bishopric which he coveted, he began to teach, in the bitterness of baffled ambition, that there was no distinction between a bishop and a presbyter, asserting

¹ Orat. i. *Contra Arianos*, tom. i. p. 304, and *Apolog.* p. 731. Sozomen says they joined themselves to the Arians, ὡς εἶδον τὸ πλῆθος ἐπόμενον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας—that is, from envy. *Hist. Ecc.* lib. ii. cap. xxi. p. 471.

² On this curious and instructive development of schism, see S. Joannis Damasceni *De Hæres.* p. 242, ed. Coloniae, 1546; Aug. *Hæres.* xlviii.; and Epiphani. *Hæres.* lxviii. tom. i. pp. 605 and 721.

that both were of equal rank and power. The origin of his opinion was so notorious, and its novelty so extravagant, in those days, that the holy Fathers who notice it speak of him rather as an "insane" person than as one to whose petulant folly it was necessary to offer any serious reply.¹ He fell into many heresies, and at length became an Arian.²

Another instance, marking still more strongly the true nature of schism, its instability, and essential oneness with heresy, is that of the Donatists. The trifling circumstances in which the separation of this famous sect from the Church originated, and the principles upon which it was so perversely justified, have rendered their case so very similar to that of modern sectaries, that some of these latter have felt constrained openly to avow their sympathy with them. At the outset of their career the Donatists held, as St. Austin admits, the orthodox faith.³ "The doctrines which they maintained at the time of their separation," to use the words of a modern writer, "were those of the

¹ Ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος μανιώδης μᾶλλον, ἥπερ καταστάσεως ἀνθρωπίνης. Epiphan. *Hæres.* lxxv. p. 906.

² Aug. *Hæres.* liii. ; Epiphan. *Hæres.* lxxv. p. 905. Fuller notices a like case in later times, book iv. cent. 14; and in our own days such examples have abounded. "Dr. Priestley was once, as he himself informs us, a Calvinist, and that of the straitest sect. Afterwards he became a high Arian, next a low Arian, and then a Socinian." Andrew Fuller's *Calvinistic and Socinian Systems compared*, letter xv. p. 81.

³ Emerito, *De Schismate Donatist.* Ep. clxiv. tom. ii. p. 285.

Catholic Church. Whatever difference of opinion they professed afterwards, this arose *in the course of the dispute*.”¹ The final results of the schism, in the case of the founder of it himself, are exposed by Augustine, who says, “We possess the writings of Donatus, from which it appears, that he did not maintain the catholic doctrine of the Trinity; but although he confessed a unity of substance, he made the Son to be inferior to the Father, and the Holy Spirit inferior to the Son.”²

Such, in ancient times, have been the uniform accompaniments of schism. And if these developments were, as the Fathers appear to have considered them, indications of a general law, they ought to attend the revival of similar principles in every age.³ If schism be so closely connected with he-

¹ Vide Nott's *Bampton Lectures*, sermon vi. note, p. 347. “The Donatists of old did not at first dissent in matters of faith from the Catholic Church, but their *schism* did soon produce *heresie*, as an ulcer or wound being inflamed doth soon beget a fever.” Norris's *Discourse concerning the pretended Religious Assembling in private Conventicles*, argument iii. p. 104.

² “Extant scripta ejus (Donati), ubi apparet eum etiam non catholicam de Trinitate habuisse sententiam, sed quamvis ejusdem substantiæ, minorem tamen Patre Filium, et minorem Filio putasse Spiritum Sanctum.” *Hæres.* lxix. This Father mentions that the sect soon split into various parties, of which he gives some account, *Contra Cresconium*, lib. iv. cap. lx. and elsewhere.

³ “Nullum schisma non sibi aliquam confingit hæresim, ut recte ab ecclesia recessisse videatur.” S. Hieron. *In cap. iii. Epist. ad Titum*. Indeed, perseverance in schism was regarded as tantamount to heresy. “If schism be permanent and lasting, it comes at length to be styled heresy, according to the Canon-law; because a schismatic, by persisting in his schism (say the Canonists), supposes and believes that he has made this departure from the Church upon a

resy in its primary principles, that the one is only the first step to the other, their identity must admit of being traced in our own days as well as in those which have gone before. In claiming the advantage, then, of earlier experience and more ancient reasonings upon this subject, we must be content to abide by them still. We do not refuse to do so. And if, among all the various sects which the last three centuries have produced, a single exception to the operation of that uniform law of which I have spoken can be pointed out, let all the different cases in which I am now about to prove it go for nothing.

The course which I propose to take in thus testing the principles upon which the modern religious systems have been framed is at least a simple and intelligible one. It is, to compare, one after another, the present aspect of all the principal communities in which those systems have been received with their condition at an earlier period of their history; and to examine, so far as I have the means, the tenets of their existing theology, with the doctrines professed and maintained by their first founders. And this, with only one additional remark, I now proceed to do. I have said, in the

right and solid foundation of faith, and is therefore by that law deemed a heretick." Ayliffe's *Parergon*, p. 480. "Hæretici censentur qui ab Ecclesiæ Catholicæ *Sacerdotibus* dissentiunt, et illicite coeunt." Gothofred. *Cod. Theodos.* xvi. tit. v. *De Hæreticis*, tom. vi. p. 167.

preceding chapter, that we should have been entitled to anticipate, regard being had to the peculiar assumptions upon which their case rests, not merely that they would be able to maintain an equality, in respect both of faith and practice, with that ancient Communion from which they had severed themselves, but that they would exhibit such a marked superiority, such a vigilant guardianship of the restored primitive faith, and such a conspicuous example of renovated primitive practice, as should consist with the lofty claims upon which their separation was based. If they had only contended in a decent rivalry with the Church which they had so lightly esteemed, and whose laws they had so disdainfully subverted, I think we might fairly have denied that the justice of those high claims had been established. Professing to restore to the world the possession of truths which had been obscured during fifteen ages, and to "reform," after the full integrity of the Apostolic pattern, a Church which had been corrupted during the like period, men had a right to expect from them, as the issue of such magnificent promises, something more than an imitation, however successful, of that exploded institution which they had been taught to despise. But if, failing even to appropriate to themselves this low degree of merit, it shall be found that the religious bodies in question have long since abandoned not only the "faith once delivered to the saints," but even that peculiar

modification of it which their own teachers so confidently proposed as its substance and counterpart; if it shall appear that they have fallen, one after another, into a condition of such deplorable confusion, and a profession of such undisguised apostasy, as makes the defects and corruptions of the Catholic Church, putting them at the worst, harmless and insignificant;—in that case, I believe, we shall be justified in regarding them as detected impostors, and their pretended reformation of the everlasting Church of God as not merely a total failure, and deprived of every token of the divine sanction which the semblance of prosperity is commonly supposed to imply, but as clearly visited by His awful judgments beyond the examples of His ordinary dealings with human folly and presumption. What has actually been their progress, and what is their real condition throughout the various countries of the world, I am now to shew. I shall begin with *Germany*, both because it was thence that the new modes of faith and discipline first issued, and because its present state has already excited so much attention, that I shall be able, in describing it, to confine myself entirely to the statements and representations of others.

II. When the new theories of religious belief, whose disastrous issue is to be the subject of our present inquiry, were first promulgated by the German reformers, it is admitted that the holy

doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, were maintained, without doubt or question, throughout the whole world. This fact cannot be too emphatically declared.¹ In spite of the manifold corruptions of the Church of Rome—and these, perhaps, it is not easy to exaggerate—the fundamental verities of the Christian faith had been hitherto preserved unimpaired. That there was a tendency then, as now, in some of the popular novelties of that Church, to obscure the office of the One Mediator, need not be denied; but even these originated, in many instances, in a professed reverence for His Person. If the Blessed Virgin, for example, was approached in language of unseemly and fanatical fervour, or even of idolatrous worship, it was still as “the Mother of God;” and even the honour paid to the Saints, which was too often of the same character, was studiously vindicated as not only consistent with, but, in some sense, correlative to, that greater honour which, in theory at least, was reserved only for “the King of Saints.” The thrones which certain late teachers of that Church, in despite both of Scripture and Antiquity, had presumptuously assigned to created beings, were still supposed to be in sub-

¹ “The ancient controversies on the Trinity had long subsided; if any remained whose creed was not unlike that of the Arians, we must seek for them among the Waldenses, or other persecuted sects. But even this is obscure; and Erasmus, when accused of Arianism, might reply with apparent truth, that no heresy was more extinct.” Hallam’s *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, &c. chap. v. vol. i. p. 507.

ordination to that more glorious throne which had been occupied from all eternity by the Son of God. To doubt whether He was "God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God," One from everlasting and to everlasting with the Father, or even to tolerate any speculation whatsoever on the awful truth—this was an impiety too revolting to the catholic mind to be endured by the rulers of the Church in any period of her existence. To such blasphemies the Church of Rome never did and, as we are most firmly assured, never would have consented to hearken.¹ At the time of the Reformation they had been for ages unknown and unheard of.²

Hardly, however, had the opinions and sentiments which accompanied and marred that movement begun to prevail, when the execrable impieties which had so long slumbered again revived. The fact of their simultaneous growth is beyond dispute; and it elicited, at the very outset, both from those who espoused the doctrines of the Reformation and those who opposed them, exclamations of sorrow and dismay. "It is most certain,"

¹ "Est-ce lorsqu'on ne croit rien," was the fine saying attributed to one of her clergy, "qu'on doit exagérer les dangers de tout croire?" Quoted by Chiniac, *De la Tolérance et du Fanatisme en matière de Religion*, p. 61, Paris, 1803.

² Having observed that "it does not appear that the churches in communion with the papal see are ever likely to become an infidel body," Mr. Gladstone notices, with his usual earnestness and eloquence, the very different course of those Calvinistic bodies which have become rationalistic, and "utterly lost the doctrine of grace." See his *Church Principles in their Result*, pp. 184, 5.

says one who adhered to the latter party, "that from the moment that Luther and Calvin published their opinions, it was predicted to them, that in overthrowing the foundation upon which the faith of mankind reposed, the ancient decisions of the Church would find no better acceptance with men than those of a later period."¹ "The Socinian disputations," says the same writer, "had already commenced in the time of Melancthon; but he clearly discerned, from his own observation of the character of the movement, that they would one day be pushed to a far greater extent. 'Good God,' said he, 'what a tragedy will posterity witness, if men should come hereafter to debate again the questions, whether the Word or the Holy Spirit be a Person!'"² "I cannot weep enough," was another lament of the same reformer, "over the infelicity of the Reformation, and its inconsistency with itself. The people will never again submit to a constraint which the desire of liberty has led them to throw off. Our partisans are contending, not for the Gospel, but for power. The ecclesiastical discipline is annihilated. *Men are doubting about the most fundamental truths.* The evil is beyond cure."³ "You see yourselves," said Luther

¹ Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, vième avertissement, tome iv. pp. 510, 511.

² *Ibid.* p. 152.

³ Quoted by Starck, *Theodul's Gastmahl*, p. 246, ed. Kentzinger. "Vides quo tendat petulantia multorum," says Melancthon in another place, *Thomæ Matthiæ Epist.* p. 252; cf. p. 276. His letters are full of such complaints.

to some of his contemporaries, "what confusion Satan stirs up in the Church: there are almost as many opinions prevailing as there are individual teachers."¹ And at a later period, after the benefit of some experience, another was led to make the remarkable confession,—“I will not dissemble that the wide difference between our own faith and that of the ancient Church gives me deep concern. For, not to speak of other articles, Luther has departed from the ancients in the matter of the Sacraments; Zuingle has gone beyond Luther; Calvin has abandoned both the one and the other; and the later writers have abandoned Calvin. If we proceed after this fashion, *what will the end of all this be?*”² To this question the lapse of further time, and the possession of more ample experience, have enabled us to furnish a reply;³ and we are about to do so.

¹ “Videtis ipsi quantas in Ecclesia turbas excitet Sathan; tot scilicet opinionibus fere regnantibus, quot sunt ministrorum capita.” M. Lutheri *Epist. Ministris in Northusio*, inter *Epist. Ph. Melanct.* p. 289. “*Experientia tandem didicisti*,” said his adversaries, “quid monstri monstrosa ista contrarietas in Germania produxit.” Cochläeus *Contra Lutherum*, cap. xviii. “Inter vos non solum per provincias, sed per civitates ejusdem provinciæ, inmo per domos et familias ejusdem civitatis, de fide contendatis et discrepetis.” Turrian. *De Ecclesia*, lib. i. cap. iv. When men talk of the unity which results from consenting to appeal to the Scriptures as a common standard, apart from the compulsory influence of systems and creeds, it seems enough to refer them to this period of history. As a scheme for the promotion of unity, of any sort or kind, the German Reformation is perhaps the most signal failure on record.

² Casauboni *Epist.* 670. *Ad J. Witembogard.*, quoted by Remy Ceillier, *Apologie des Pères de l'Eglise*, contre Barbeyrac, *Dissert. Préliminaire*.

³ “For first, Luther, forsaking the altar of Chryste’s Church,

Meanwhile, let it be observed, that two very important facts have been already brought forward, namely,—that the Arian heresy had no existence at the time of the German reformation, and that its revival was exactly synchronous with the origin of that celebrated movement.¹

Attended from the first by these fearful signs, which, as we have seen, alarmed both himself and others, the preaching of Luther had attracted notice during little more than four years, when another phenomenon arose, which arrested immediately the attentive observation of both the conflicting parties. Within so brief an interval of time there was exhibited to the world the strange spectacle of a *distinct* and *ulterior* reformation, based upon Luther's own principles, embodying the main articles of his teaching, appealing unhesitatingly to

framed himself another aultar. But Carolostadius, Zuinglius, and Œcolampadius, not liking either the aultar of the Church or of Luther, framed to themselves after their phantasie another aultar. The Anabaptists framed themselves another aultar after their devise. The Swenckfeldians, misliking all that was done before them, framed after their conceit a newe aultar altogether spirituall. The Calvinistes, thinking to passe them all, have invented another manner of aultar, even altogether after the manner of the Arians' aultar, or not much unlike, as Richerus, Calvine's preacher, hath in France plainly declared." Heskyn's *Parliament of Chryste*, book iii. chap. lx. p. 399.

¹ Even Turretin, the Genevan professor—whose words involve an important admission—only says, that the 16th century produced *more* Photinianism and Sabellianism than Arianism; *Histor. Eccles. Compend.* secul. xvi. p. 389, Genevæ, 1736. The existence of various forms of heresy, even from the very beginning of the movement, is evident enough, if only from the vain efforts of Luther, Calvin, and others, to oppose and destroy them.

the same Scriptures, and differing from the religious scheme which it professed to complete and amend, only by removing to a greater distance the boundaries which Luther had set up as its natural and unalterable limits. It was in the year 1521 that the *Anabaptists*—whose origin must of course be referred to a still earlier period—began in many different places to divide with Luther the attention of the people.¹ And it is beyond dispute that, even at that date, many of their leaders—who had, with scarcely an exception, already passed through and abandoned Lutheranism—were deeply infected with the Arian and other impieties.²

¹ Vide Hottinger, *Histoire des Suisses à l'époque de la Réformation*, traduite par Vulliemin, tome ii. p. 31. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who was yet a great admirer of Luther, says, that he "had scarce planted the Gospel in Germany, in the yeare 1517, but within the space of some five yeeres after, Melchior Hofman, Thomas Muncer, Bernard Rothman, and other Anabaptists, planted there also, as may be strongly collected, divers Pelagian blasphemies." Their progress was very rapid; and D'Ewes says, "their numbers are at this day so increased, as they constitute or make a considerable party in divers parts of Christendome." *The Primitive Practice for preserving Truth*, § ix. xviii.

² Amongst other leading Anabaptists, Hetzer, Campanus, and Claudius, are mentioned as Arians; *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, art. *Sociniens*. Servetus himself, as Calvin notices, *Defens.* ii. *De Sacrament.*, was first an Anabaptist. See other instances in Ruchat, *Histoire*, &c. tome v. p. 401. Houbmeyer was put to death as an Anabaptist, at Vienne, in 1527; Hottinger, tome ii. p. 38. Zeltner says, "Commixtos certe cum his (Anabaptistis) Socini in Batavis assecclas vixisse, et adhuc istic delitescere, nemo ignorat." *Histor. Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, cap. ii. § 6. p. 171, note. It was common with those who embraced the doctrines of Calvin and Luther to speak of them as so united. Vide F. Junii *Præfat. In Sac. Parallel. Loc. Opp.* p. 1371. The same language was used by the Socinians themselves: "A Reformatis ad Unitarios Christianos

Of the progress and subsequent state of these sectaries, whose apostasy became so general as to be indicated by the proverbial saying, “an Anabaptist is an unlearned Socinian, and a Socinian a learned Anabaptist,”¹ it is not my purpose to speak. It is the *original connexion*² of this heresy with Lutheranism, and their mutual relation—a relation which appears to have been not less intimate than that of parent and child³—which it is important to notice; because it is the identity of their source, and the sameness of their elementary principles, which will best explain what we are shortly to de-

transierat;” *Vita Lubienecii*. “Antea Calvinianus, Unitariorum sententiam amplexus est;” Wissowat. *Narrat. Compend.* p. 214. And one who had passed through every grade declared, “*nullum se nosse Arianum factum qui non antea Calvinista fuerit;*” vide Hartmanni *Concil. Illustr. Exercitat.* xxxii. tom. iii. p. 560.

¹ Zeltner, *ubi supra*.

² On which see Pluquet, *De l'Origine des Anabaptistes, Dictionnaire des Hérésies*, tome ii. pp. 60 et seq.

³ A writer of the present day, who makes it a sort of boast to be “impartial,” does not hesitate to connect Lutheranism with the heresies by which it was so speedily followed. “A more immediate effect of overthrowing the ancient system,” Mr. Hallam says, “was the growth of fanaticism, to which, in its worst shape, the anti-nomian extravagancy of Luther yielded too great encouragement.” *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, ch. vi. vol. i. p. 485: and again, he speaks of Anabaptism particularly, as “generated in great measure by the Lutheran tenet of assurance;” p. 502. And when it was urged by the Arminians of Holland, in their sufferings, “that the liberty of the country in matters of religion should be no more straitened unto them than unto the Lutherans and Anabaptists, who have their meetings and preachings by public permission,”—it was answered on the part of the state, “The Lutherans and Anabaptists are no innovators, but *began* and continued with the beginning and increase of the state.” See Sir Dudley Carleton’s *Letters*, p. 372.

scribe, namely, the present aspect of Lutheranism itself.

That the appearance of unity between the Lutherans and Anabaptists did not, however, last long, is most true. Irritated and confounded by so premature a development of his own principles, Luther keenly discerned that it would be safer to have such men for enemies than friends; and, without a moment's pause, he turned the whole force of his powerful mind against these new "reformers."¹ The writings which were published in quick succession by himself and his able allies, in condemnation of their tenets, are almost as numerous as those which were provoked by the corruptions of the Church. But it is these very writings which afford the most convincing proof of the fact which Luther was so anxious to disguise, and demonstrate the intimacy of the relationship which they were intended to disclaim. No one can have read them, or indeed any of the numerous writings which were directed by the reformers against the various misbelievers of their age, without noticing this very significant circumstance,—that their authors appear to have abandoned altogether, for the

¹ They were even put to death in numerous instances, and that with the consent of Melancthon, the mildest of the "reformers,"—to whom they were evidently an odious source of embarrassment. The Lutherans had said to the Catholics, "You have renounced the Scriptures, to hear the Church;" and the Anabaptists said to them in turn, "You have rejected the Holy Spirit, to amuse yourselves with the Scriptures." Mœhler, *La Symbolique*, § 59. tome ii. p. 195.

time, their usual course of reasoning, and to have adopted without reserve precisely that which was uniformly employed against themselves by the Catholic writers. Of their peculiar and habitual mode of argumentation,—their confident appeals to Holy Scripture, their haughty defiance of the Church, their contempt for catholic tradition,—of this we no longer find any trace. And the fact is so singular, and leads so directly to certain important conclusions, that it ought not to be overlooked in the present inquiry.

When Luther and Melancthon challenged the Anabaptists to prove a ‘lawful vocation’ to the ministry which they had usurped, and exalted ordination as a ‘sacrament,’ and spoke fluently of the decisions of the ancient Church; when Calvin appealed angrily to ‘councils’ and ‘synods,’¹ and Beza inveighed against “the despisers of ancient canons,” or admonished his new adversaries “either to convict *the whole ancient Church* of error, or to relinquish their own opinions;”²—in a word, when

¹ And even went so far as to say, “*Impositionem manuum in veris legitimisque ordinationibus sacramentum esse, concedo.*” *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. xix. § 31.

² *Resp. ad Nicol. Selneccer.* p. 98 (Genevæ, 1572). Elsewhere he appeals against the rising Socinians to “all the blameless Bishops—*inculpato*s—throughout the whole world;” *Epist.* xviii. *Domino Scadcovio*: and again to “*the perpetual consent* of the Catholic Church!” *Libell. de Valentin. Gentil. Præfat.* p. 16. So Œcolampadius tells the Anabaptists, that they “put a wholly new sense upon the Scriptures, contrary to that of all the ancient Doctors;” *Chauffepié*, Supplement to Bayle, art. *Œcolampade*. So Peter Viret, in a passage of which the inconsistency is really ludicrous, “Si

they employed against others the very arguments which they had affected to make light of when urged against themselves, they did not merely become personally ridiculous,¹ and as individual teachers unworthy of the least respect or attention, but they pronounced judgment at the same time

itaque nobiscum facit *totius veteris Ecclesiæ consuetudo atque consensus*, quanta hæc nostra causa plausibilior haberi debet, Catabaptistarum calumniis toti veteri Ecclesiæ adversantibus ;” *De Minist. et Sacrament.* lib. xiii. cap. iii. p. 144. So Chemnitz: “Amamus enim et veneramur veteris et purioris Ecclesiæ testimonia, *cujus consensu* et adjuvamus et confirmamur ;” *Exam. Decret. Concil. Trident.* tom. i. p. 191. And Chamier: “Sed hallucinatos Patres, nemo ei crediturus est sanæ mentis ;” *De Œcum. Pontif.* lib. ix. cap. iv. § 8. And Hoornbeeck: “Eja, quam egregia ex tuo sensu nobis Ecclesia Christiana depingitur! Quam ea nulla fere unquam fuit, hæc si vera sint! Quot animarum myriades deceptæ!” &c. *Apolog. pro Eccles. Christian.* &c. p. 20. This is exactly what we say; and how will a ‘presbyterian’ answer the argument? Bucer, again, uses the same language, *In Sacra Evangel.* Præfat. And Du Moulin, *Answer to Cardinal Perron*, book i. ch. xlvi. p. 120 (1664). Melancthon professes the same judgment in innumerable places: and Philippe de Mornay says, “Nous admettons *sérieusement et révéremment* les écrits des Saints Pères ;” *Préf. à Messieurs de l’Eglise Romaine*, p. 7. Cf. *Act. Convent. Thoruniens.* sess. iii. p. 70 (Warsaw, 1646). Jerome Zanchy writes, “A communi Patrum consensu nulla cogente necessitate dissentire *mihi religio est* ;” apud Scrivener. *Apolog. pro Patr. Eccles.* cap. viii. p. 53. And see Calvini *Institut.* Præfat., and lib. iv. cap. v. § 10. Ridley, who is often quoted by men who have very little in common with him, says, “*cum orthodoxis Patribus* sic loquor et sentio ;” *Protestatio Ridleii*, apud Randolph. *Enchirid. Theolog.* tom. i. p. 53: and even Jewel professes, “Nos cum antiquissimis Patribus affirmamus ;” Juelli *Apolog.* p. 106, ed. 1838. Lastly, Chillingworth himself declares it to be “*a mere calumny* that Protestants condemn all kinds of traditions, who subscribe very willingly to that of Vincentius Lerinensis ;” *Answer to some Passages in Rushworth’s Dialogues*, p. 53.

¹ “Et quidem cum Calvinii de pædobaptismo adversus Anabaptistas librum lego, ridere soleo, videreque mihi videor hominem

upon their own general principles, and saved the world the trouble of proving that they were themselves included in the very same condemnation which they were so forward to pronounce upon others. In assuming for a special purpose the attitude and borrowing the sentiments of catholic teachers, they reluctantly confessed, that the weapons which they had been accustomed hitherto to use might be good indeed for the purpose of attack, but were utterly powerless to defend, — that upon their principles truth might be successfully opposed, but could not for one hour be maintained. Lutheranism, they thus acknowledged, might lead men to the error of the Anabaptists, but it had no power to bring them back again; and for this reason, — that men might continue Anabaptists, or any thing else, without doing violence to any of its fundamental principles. And therefore, when they desired to recall those who had strayed from their ranks, or to silence their blasphemies, they clearly understood, as we see from the course which they adopted, that it was only in proportion as they *departed from their own principles*, and consented to act upon those of others, that they could hope

hæreticum, dum suis, non Ecclesiæ armis, adversus illos hæreticos pugnare vult, turpiter in pugna succumbentem." Maldonat. *Comment. in cap. xxviii. S. Matt.* tom. i. p. 692. On Calvin's difficulty in answering Socinian and other heretics, see the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tome xxiv. p. 22; and Pluquet, *Dictionnaire*, tome ii. p. 580. A remarkable instance of the same embarrassment on the part of the Lutherans may be seen in Vedelius, *De Arcanis Arminianismi*, lib. i. cap. vi. p. 42.

to effect their object. Their mode of arguing with heretics, I say, shewed this; they must cease, for the time, to be Lutherans,—*i. e.* Lutheranism could not oppose heresy. We might have expected, then, from a consideration of the facts thus presented to us in the early history of the German reformation, that the system then devised was not destined to preserve long its original form. It was evident from the first that Lutheranism had no power to maintain its own existence as a positive institution. Running water, or shifting sand, were its truest types. Heresy was not so much a state to which it *tended*, as one of the aspects under which it appeared from its birth. Socinianism was *the other side* of Lutheranism.¹

And if this be a true account of it even from its origin; if Luther and his friends, in spite of their own unquestionable abhorrence of the impious errors which arose in their day, were unable to restrain them; if they could be defended by their own scholars, and in spite of their own protests, as legitimate and even necessary conclusions from the elementary theological maxims upon which their own teaching had been based; if wherever Lutheranism made a way for itself, it was found to have levelled a path for heresies without number, and

¹ “L’histoire des Sociniens fera connoître que ceux-ci qui ont quitté l’Eglise Catholique pour embrasser le Socinianisme, ont passé presque tous par le Luthéranisme, le Calvinisme, et l’Anabatisme.” *Histoire du Socinianisme*, Avertissement, p. 4, Paris, 1723. Cf. Hartmanni *Concil. Illustr.* Pericop. xvi. Exercitat. xxxii. tom. iii. p. 556.

all its efforts to withhold such evil attendants from following in its steps were vain and fruitless; if, on the other hand, that more ancient Institution, against whose unhappy corruptions it so justly protested, was even then, and ever had been, free from these more fearful evils, and able, by some secret virtue, and almost without an effort, to repel them, — then have we no reason to feel surprise, either that that Institution still remains exactly what it was three centuries ago, or that Lutheranism has arrived, after manifold changes, at that awful state of apostasy which was predicted from the first, and which we are now, at length, about to describe.

The principal works on the state of Protestantism in Germany, which have appeared in the English language, are those of the late lamented Mr. Rose, and Professor Moses Stuart, of Andover in the United States. I shall refer chiefly, in the few extracts which my limits will allow, to those writers. By way of preface, however, to their more minute and detailed statements, and in order to convey in a single sentence an idea of that appalling development of German Lutheranism which Professor Stuart justly describes as containing “a most affecting and awful lesson,” I will first quote a few words from another author, who is perhaps the best living authority on this subject, and who tells us, that “even in 1825, a theologian, in recounting the professors who could any how be

considered orthodox,—*i. e.* those who *in any way contended for the doctrines of the gospel or its very truth*,—counted, in all Protestant Germany, seventeen!"¹ Such has been the accomplishment of the mournful presages of those who favoured, and the confident predictions of those who condemned, the beginnings of the German Reformation.

The well-known work of Mr. Hugh James Rose² opens as follows: "The theology of the Protestant Churches of Germany presented a very singular spectacle during the last half of the preceding century and the commencement of the present. A very large majority of the divines of these Churches rejected, in a word, *all belief in the divine origin of Christianity*, and anxiously endeavoured to instil into others the opinions which they had embraced themselves. They had possession of far the greater number of divinity-professorships in the many universities of Germany; and they had almost exclusively the direction of the literary and religious journals, a class of publications of more influence and importance in Germany than among ourselves. By the unsparing use of the means thus afforded them, and by an infinite quantity of writings,"³

¹ See *A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, by Dr. Pusey, p. 123.

² *The State of Protestantism in Germany*. It is the second edition which is referred to here.

³ "Germany has produced," says Professor Stuart, "in half a century, more works on criticism and sacred literature than the world contains besides." *Letters to Dr. Channing*, letter v. p. 143.

addressed to men of all classes and all ages, they succeeded in spreading their views over the surface of society. How deep the disease went among the lower orders it is not easy to ascertain. But it appears that, after a time, a spirit of almost entire indifference to religion manifested itself among all classes. The churches were thinly attended, the sabbath little honoured, the Bible much neglected.¹ These melancholy phenomena appear to me to deserve and demand the attention of every Christian community; and I am convinced that, in this country, it is very little known how far the evil extended."²

¹ Even the Rationalist Bretschneider—quoted by Mr. Rose, p. 197—admits “that this indifference is spread among all classes; that the Bible used to be found in every house; that very many made it a law to read a chapter every day, or at least every Sunday; that it must have been a very poor family where a Bible was not part of the marriage-portion;—but that now very many do not possess one, or let it lie neglected in a corner;” and more to the same effect. Huffell, another Rationalist, says, “In most towns the mechanics are busy with their trade on Sunday mornings, as by degrees people have forgotten entirely all care of the celebration of Sunday. The afternoon is given to amusements, and so there is no time left for the Church. One hears fathers and mothers of families urge their families to go to Church; but they themselves, who ought to set the example, prefer reading the last newspaper to attending the sermon, or pretend to have other business.” Rose, *Additional Notes*, p. xlv.

² “It is clear that there is a philosophy in Europe, which may soon visit ourselves, which has already in some departments begun to visit us,—a philosophy which regards God and nature in a light utterly irreconcilable with Christianity,—which rejects all notion of a Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, above and beyond ourselves,—which discards all faith in the unseen, all hope of an *individual* immortality of being,—to which the Idea is God, and humanity at

So much on the general character of the apostasy, of which Mr. Rose says, in other words, "My allegation against the German Protestant Divines is, that the peculiar and positive doctrines of Christianity had lost all value in their eyes, and that they sought to depress Christianity itself to the level of a human invention, and its doctrines, at best, to a repetition of the doctrines of natural religion."¹ Such being their design, it is obvious to inquire next into their treatment and use of Holy Scripture. Of this a few examples shall be given; and first, of their estimation of the Sacred Volume. "For myself," says Rœhr, after describing the general sentiments of the Rationalists, "I also regard the Scriptures in the same light as any other book. I recognise in them no authority, except so far as they are in accordance with my own individual convictions. I do not regard them as the rule of my faith, but only as supplying me with a proof that, in ancient times, there were wise men who thought as I do."² And this man was not, as we might have supposed, some outcast or excommunicate person, but a "Superintendent-

large is the Christ,—while the records of faith are 'dreamy visions' and legends,—the only reality admitted in any system of traditional religion being the identity of our own highest reason with the Essence that is all-pervading and indestructible." Mill *On the Pantheistic Theory*, Preface, p. 12.

¹ *State of Protestantism*, &c. p. 93.

² *Lettres sur le Rationalisme*, p. 15, quoted by Mœhler, *La Symbolique*, tome ii. p. 2.

General;" *i. e.*, one of the highest ecclesiastical rulers in Protestant Germany!

"Schleiermacher, professor at Berlin," says Mœhler, "maintains that the Scripture undergoes a change in its signification every fifteen years. Let us give an example. In 1820, the Scripture, agreeing with Schleiermacher, taught the divinity of Jesus Christ; but in 1835, it seemed good to our doctor to reject this truth, and so at the present time Scripture teaches that Jesus Christ is not God." Mœhler then refers to his own words.¹

Some instances of their mode of interpreting and explaining Scripture shall be given next. According to Eichhorn, the account of the creation and fall of man is merely a poetical, philosophical speculation of some ingenious person on the origin of the world and of evil. The offering up of Isaac by Abraham was "a horrible crime, which the God-head could not have required. Abraham *dreamed* that he must offer up Isaac, and, according to the superstition of the times, regarded it as a divine admonition. He prepared to execute the mandate which his dream had conveyed to him. A lucky accident—probably the rustling of a ram who was entangled in the bushes—hindered it; and this, according to ancient idiom, was also the voice of the divinity."²

The prophecies of the Old Testament are, ac-

¹ *La Symbolique*, § 42. tome ii. p. 80.

² Vide Stuart, *Letter* v. p. 144.

according to the same writer, and Künöl, whose commentary is much used in this country, "*patriotic wishes*, expressed with all the fire and eloquence of poetry, for the future prosperity and a future deliverer of the Jewish nation."¹

In like manner, C. F. Ammon, professor of theology at Erlangen (these are the instructors of the youth of Germany!), says of the miracle of Christ's walking on the water, that "to walk on the sea, is not to stand on the waves as on the solid ground, as Jerome *dreams*, but to walk through the waves so far as the shoals reached, and then to swim"! So of the miracle of the loaves and fishes, St. Matthew xiv. 15: "Jesus probably distributed some loaves and fishes which he had to those who were around him; and thus excited by his example others among the multitude, who had provisions, to distribute them in like manner."²

Scherer, a 'clergyman' in Hesse Darmstadt, "calls all the predictions respecting the person of the Messiah nonsense; accuses the prophets of being cunning deceivers; and says that the belief of those prophets brought and has preserved incredulity on the earth."³ Wegscheider says that St. Paul "was much inclined to visions and ecstasies." Heinrichs, in explaining the death of Ananias, suggests that he was stabbed by St. Peter, "which," says he, "does not at all disagree with the vehe-

¹ Stuart, *ubi supra*. Cf. Rose, *Additional Notes*, pp. xlii. xliii.

² Stuart, p. 146.

³ Rose, p. 151.

ment and easily exasperated temper of Peter." Examples without number of these revolting blasphemies—the 'commentaries,' not of a few reprobate spirits, such as may be found in any land, but of the *Professors of Theology* in the Lutheran and Calvinistic schools of Germany¹—might be added, and many more may be seen in the authors whom I have quoted; but we may spare ourselves the shame and grief of referring to them.²

It is well, however, to notice that, like the ancient heretics, these men have fallen by degrees. "In the course of the discussions which these principles have excited in Germany," says Stuart, "the question about Christ's divinity has been entirely forgotten. When the contest first began, this point, among others, was warmly contested. But the fundamental questions, whether the Scriptures are divinely inspired, and whether the doctrine of *accommodation* can be used in all its latitude in interpreting them, soon took the place of this."³

It is true, as the same writer observes, that "the best part of the German critics" have abandoned the evil principles of interpretation of which some examples have been given. Rationalism has

¹ "Very few of the distinguished Rationalists have been laymen." Rose, *Letter to the Bishop of London*, in reply to a work on the causes of Rationalism in Germany, p. 86, note.

² The late Mr. Conybeare describes the system of biblical criticism of which these are specimens, as having "very widely, it might be said *almost universally*, obtained in the protestant churches of continental Europe." *Bampton Lectures*, Lecture i. p. 8.

³ Stuart, p. 146.

not been able to maintain its ground. "All that was holy, and healthful, and true," as Mr. Rose eloquently writes, "has turned away from the Rationalists, and has demanded, with a voice which admitted of no truce and no parley, that bread which came down from heaven, and that living water 'of which whosoever drinketh shall never thirst again.' The very weakness of humanity has been too strong for the advocates of Natural Religion, in all the pride of philosophy, and learning, and station, and strength. Their outcry has been silenced by the still small voice which came from the chamber of disease, the house of mourning, and the bed of death. 'Miserable comforters were they all' in the day of suffering and sorrow; and the support which they could not give, the sick and the sorrowful sought elsewhere. They have used their utmost efforts to convince the world that Christianity is a human invention,—and they have failed."¹

'They have failed' indeed, as such teachers ever must do,² and have been compelled to take up

¹ *Advertisement* to the second edition, pp. ix. x.

² But though Rationalism has given way in some degree, the prospect is almost or quite as bad as ever—the reaction, where it has begun, being only in the direction of fanaticism. "Une nouvelle erreur," says M. Merle D'Aubigné, "a pris naissance parmi les débris de l'ancienne. C'est cette erreur que nous avons appelée Idéalisme"—which he then describes as coming between Orthodoxy and Rationalism. *L'Idéalisme en Allemagne*. For instances of the Mystic, in contradiction to the Rationalistic exegesis, see the remarks on the *Christus im Alten Testament* of J. A. Kanne, in the *Mélanges de Religion*, tome i. p. 160. On this new development of error, and

a different position ; but, “in the mean time, they have not returned to the principles of their Lutheran Symbol. Very far from it. While many of them allow that John, and Peter, and Paul, did believe and teach the doctrine of Christ’s divinity and of the atonement, they *hold themselves under no obligation to receive them*. De Wette, who has recently published a System of Theology, and is Professor of the same at the University of Berlin, maintains that the Pentateuch was composed about the time of the captivity ; that the Jewish ritual was of gradual formation, accessions being made to it by superstition ; and that the book of Chronicles, which is filled with scraps and inconsistencies, was foisted into the canon by some of the priesthood, who wished to exalt their own order. His *Beiträge*, which contained these sentiments, was published before the death of Griesbach, and came out *recommended by him* ; who says, ‘ If you object to the young literary adventurer (De Wette), that he has endeavoured to bring Judaism into disrepute, my answer is, this is no more than Paul himself has laboured to do.’ Pref. to *Beiträge*. This from an *Editor* of the New Testament ! In his book *De Morte Christi expiatoria* (on the atone-

the successive alternations of infidelity and fanaticism which this country appears likely still to exhibit, Mœhler observes, “Telle est la triste destinée du siècle ; on verra les esprits malades, exaltés, se repaître de chimères et d’illusions ; et si bientôt la foi de l’Eglise ne reprend son empire, le fanatisme de plus funeste viendra s’asseoir à la place de l’incroyance détrônée.” tome ii. p. 354.

ment of Christ), he represents Christ as disappointed that the Jews would not hearken to him as a moral teacher simply, which was the first character he assumed. Christ then assumed the character of a prophet, and asserted his divine mission, in order that the Jews might be induced to listen to him. Finding that they would not do this," &c. —the rest it is impossible to repeat. "Yet De Wette holds a most exalted rank in Germany. I doubt whether Germany can boast of an Oriental scholar or a literary man who has more admirers than De Wette. What shall we say now of De Wette? That he is not a Christian? He would look with astonishment on any man who should think of such an accusation, and would tax him with a great degree of illiberality and superstition."¹

With one more example, bringing the description of Lutheranism down to the present hour, we may conclude. The name of Neander, one of the most distinguished of all the German theologians, is almost as well known in this country as in his own. He is supposed to be one of those eminent divines whom the King of Prussia designed, by the help of the English Church, to have raised to the Episcopal office. It is well to know the character of the persons with whom the rulers of that Church were solicited to form alliance. The most recent writer upon the new development of German Rationalism tells us, that "the Nicene and Athana-

¹ Stuart, p. 147; and see Conybeare, *Lecture* i. p. 24, note.

sian Creeds are by Neander fairly set aside.”¹ The decisions of his own ‘church’ he estimates at the same rate. “Of the Augsburg Confession he only admits what he considers to be the essential points;” and these appear to be, justification by faith, and the depravity of human nature! “This supercession,” Dr. Wolff says, “of Lutheran doctrines in a Lutheran University, by one of its most distinguished members and professors, will rather startle the English reader, and open his eyes to the convulsed and distracted state of religious opinions in Germany.”² Having then quoted language from the writings of Neander quite as monstrous and offensive as any that has been already cited,³ this author adds, “What more, or what worse, could have proceeded from the pen of Dr. Strauss, or Professor Paulus, or the veriest infidels that can be named among the German Professors of the last half century?” Yet this is an existing form of German Protestantism, as professed at the present

¹ Wolff, *Mystic Rationalism in Germany*, p. 10, ed. 1842.

² *Ibid.* Such a “supercession,” however, is no new thing. The very men who composed the symbolical writings of the reformed party set the first example of despising them. “An nos Zuinglii,” says Beza, “an Calvini, an cujusquam hominis auctoritate niti consuevimus? Num ipsam nostram confessionem, ac non potius unicum ex quo desumpta est Domini verbum proferimus?” Duci Saxoniae, *Præfat. In Resp. ad N. Selnecker*.

³ The pool at Bethesda was, according to Neander, a reservoir of mineral water. The transfiguration was “a dream.” St. Matthew’s account, chap. xiv., is incorrect, because it is contradictory to Herod’s character! “He may justly be suspected of heterodoxy,” Dr. Wolff says, “even with regard to the divinity of Christ.” *Mystic Rationalism*, p. 34.

day by one of its most popular and admired advocates! This is the latest aspect of religion in a country which produced, in 1530, the boasted Confession of Augsburg; and, in 1825, numbered amongst the whole body of its Professors just seventeen who were not utterly apostate!¹

III. *Switzerland* is the next country to which, in pursuing the present inquiry, it seems natural to turn our attention. It was here that the system first devised in Germany found its earliest counterpart. The movement in the two countries was, indeed, almost simultaneous; and, at least in one important particular, which I am especially anxious

¹ The view taken by Lutherans themselves of the present aspect of their communion is thus stated by Mr. Rose. "Counsellor Beckendorf says, 'There is no church among his party, but merely parties; the old church is in ruins.' Boll says, 'The dissolution of the Protestant church is certain.' The *Hallische Literatur Zeitung*, 'that there is no Protestant church, but only now Protestant churches;' and so Dr. Planck. Professor Lehmann, 'one sees Protestantism, but no Protestant church.' Superintendent General Schlegel, 'the greatest part of the Evangelical churches may be asked, *if they can make any pretence to the name of a Christian church.*'" See also Clarisse, *Encyclopædiæ Theologicæ Epitome*, Præfat. p. xiv. for a description of the German youth; and § 55. p. 226. for his account of the Rationalistic philosophy. Cf. Wegscheider, *Institut. Theolog. Prolegom.* cap. i. § 12; and, for a much earlier statement of its real character, Weismann, *secul.* 17. tom. ii. p. 1117. Such are the confessions of the varying parties themselves; and we find an adversary, though under the disguise of a friend, reminding them of their true condition in the following words: "La décadence de votre société religieuse augmente de jour en jour, et l'on peut même dire que, considérée comme corps ecclésiastique, *elle a cessé d'exister*; ce n'est plus qu'une agrégation d'hommes ayant des opinions diverses, et même diamétralement opposées, sans ordre, sans harmonie, et sans liaison." Starck, *Theodul's Gastmahl*, p. 264.

to notice, was marked from the outset with the same character. In Switzerland, as in Germany, the leaders of the Reformation were warned that their principles must lead to infidelity; and in both cases the prediction has been amply and fearfully accomplished.

Of the warning, and the grounds of it, there is no space to say much here. It was at the close of the year 1536, so far as I have been able to discover, that the Swiss reformers were first publicly charged with Arianism. Caroli, joint pastor with Viret of the city of Lausanne, was the author of the charge; in which many of the ministers of Geneva, as well as of other cantons, were implicated. True or false, there was something significant in the very nature of the impeachment—it was a startling novelty in those days, however common it may have become since. A synod, summoned by general request, was held at Berne; and Calvin, Viret, and Farel vehemently defended themselves from the imputation, which, there can be no doubt, was in the main untrue.¹ That it was

¹ That is, as far as they themselves were concerned. Prateolus reports, however, that Calesius, a colleague of Calvin, declared in the synod of Berne, “that Christ was not distinguished from the Father;” and that although others at the very time censured his blasphemy, neither the theologians of Berne nor of Geneva noticed it. *Elench. Hæret. omn. lib. xviii. hæres. 24. p. 489.* Calvin himself was more than suspected, and is said to have been “accused by almost all the Lutherans of the Arian heresy.” Vide Pierce’s *New Discoverer*, Advertisement, p. 19. The Lutheran Stockmann confirms this statement expressly; *Lexicon Hæresium*, p. 223. At the Synod of Lausanne Calvin said, that “he neither believed nor dis-

not, however, altogether vexatious and unfounded, is plain even from the defence which it provoked. Being challenged by Caroli to sign the three Creeds, Calvin refused to do so ; and the only motive which

believed the Athanasian Creed." Prateolus, *ubi supra*. Fowler admits that " this never-enough accursed doctrine of a *typicall* Christ did spread like a gangrene in Calvin's time ;" *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 45 ;—and at least he was abetting the more open heretics by his dangerous and profane language. Both Luther and Calvin rejected the word 'Trinity'—the former as " a human invention," the latter as also " savouring of barbarity ;"—and their remarks are greedily quoted by Socinians of the present day—vide *Monthly Repository*, vol. xxi. p. 622—as formerly by their predecessors ; vide Eniedin. *In S. Trinitatem*, pp. 138, 9. I shall not, however, in a note, enter upon the serious question here glanced at. Thus much may be said, that they constantly charged each other with the worst heresies, and there are good reasons for supposing that the charge was more often true than false. With respect to Calvin himself, Maldonat has collected a vast number of his sayings, which savour almost of infidelity ; see his *Comment.* in S. Matt. cap. vi. tom. i. p. 147 and p. 170 ; in cap. ix. p. 210 ; in cap. xiv. p. 301, p. 307, and p. 310 ; in cap. xix. p. 395—a specimen of Luther's notions—*ibid.* p. 397, p. 400, and p. 401 ; in cap. xxi. p. 444, is a saying of Calvin's exactly such as the Socinian Jacob Abbott uses when speaking of God the Son—as though He were *merely* man ; in cap. xxvii. p. 646, where Calvin is quoted as referring our Lord's exclamation on the cross to " despair"—a sentiment, as Maldonat justly says, almost too shocking to be repeated, even for the sake of admonition : and there is a host of such evil comments noticed by the same writer, in his remarks upon the other Gospels. See also Petavius, *De Trinitate*, lib. iii. cap. iv. § 7, who shews that the expositions of Calvin led to the most dreadful blasphemies : and Feu-ardent, *Theomach. Calvinist.* lib. ix., *De Sanctis Cælestibus*, who gives instances of the astonishing manner in which the same " reformer" allowed himself to speak of the saints of the Old Testament. Beza, too, was charged, by Andreas and others, with the most deadly heresies ; and he replies—as these men usually did—by retorting the accusation upon them. Vide Bezae *Ad Acta Colloquii Montisbelgardensis Resp.* Præf. p. 11 ; and Cornelius a Lapide *In Epist. ad Heb.* cap. v. Upon the whole, it seems impossible to doubt, after due consideration of the facts which the history of that

he assigned for so strange a refusal was, that it was tyrannical to force a man to avow his faith in terms prescribed by another. But it is certain that a mere negative did not express his real feelings. To have refused to assent to those holy symbols would have been a bad sign in one who was on his trial for heresy; but he was not content with this. The Athanasian Creed was treated with open disrespect, and the sacred phrases, "God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God," were pronounced by this reformer to be "vain repetitions."¹ The character of his accuser, and even the nature of the imputed crime, are not, then, to be considered the objects of our attention in this case—it is only *the words of the accused* which it is important to notice. Surely it needed no great sagacity to predict what the end of all this must be!

The various steps by which that end has been reached, we need not minutely examine; enough that it is in accordance with this beginning. The tide of blasphemy which begun to flow in the very lifetime of Calvin, which he vainly strove to with-

period supplies to us, that when these persons, who best knew each other's real sentiments, bandied about from one to another the accusations of blasphemy and misbelief, they had some reason for what they said.

¹ Vide Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation en Suisse*, 2^{de} partie, livre i. tome v. p. 30. Kromayer shews, *Loc. Anti-Syncretist*. p. 262, that the language of professed unbelievers on the subject of the Creeds is precisely such as Calvin's; and modern Socinians assert, that "his zeal for the doctrine of the Trinity, which he but half believed, may be suspected to have been but a pretence." *Monthly Repository*, vol. i. p. 526.

stand even to shedding of blood, and which swept away, one after another, all the barriers by which it was attempted to stay its progress, has swelled into a torrent, and flows on now unresisted, in a broad and deep channel, through the heart of the land. For a long period its course was hidden; during a whole century the principles of evil which have at length obtained the mastery in the Swiss communities were professed *in secret*.¹ In vain did pious and good men, who knew not the Church to be the appointed Ark of truth, contend for the integrity of the faith. A curse was upon the human system to which they had given their unrequited affections—a curse which not even their virtues could avert. The land in which it had been set up was doomed, and “though Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness.”

The infidelity long cherished and now openly proclaimed in the Swiss cantons appears to have been developed at two distinct periods,—first, about the middle of the last century, and again at the beginning of the present. The witnesses to the former development are, besides the parties immediately concerned, men who were themselves professed infidels, as Voltaire, Rousseau, and D’Alembert, who had sought Geneva as a congenial soil.

¹ “Le protestantisme genevois, après avoir clandestinement pendant un siècle professé le socinianisme, a levé le masque.” *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*, par M. Grégoire, *Obs. prélim.* p. 4.

The later movement is also attested by persons of whose hostility to Catholic principles no doubt can be entertained. The testimony, therefore, in both cases, is as unsuspicious as we shall find it to be complete and fatal.

The earliest intimation which was given to the world of the actual state of religion in Geneva was contained in an article by D'Alembert, in the famous *Encyclopédie des Sciences*. The description there presented rests on the authority of Voltaire, who at this time had been a three years' resident at Geneva. "It is not," says the article, "a slight proof of the progress of human reason, that it has been published at Geneva, with the public approbation, that Calvin was as savage in temper as he was subtle in wit. The murder of Servetus (put to death by Calvin as a Socinian) is now regarded as execrable."¹

The article proceeds to speak of the theological sentiments in vogue there. "To sum up all in one word," says the author, "a large number of the Pastors of Geneva have no other religion than *mere Socinianism*, rejecting all those things to which the term *mysteries* is applied, and maintaining that the first principle of a true religion is, to propose nothing as a matter of faith which clashes with reason."²

¹ *Encyclopédie*, art. *Genève*.

² Which is no less their doctrine at the present time. "Plus votre raison sera forte, mieux vous comprendrez et saurez faire comprendre l'esprit de la révélation." This was pronounced at the *Consécration au Saint Mystère de M. Arnaud Saintes*, Genève, 1828 ;

Religion is there almost reduced to the adoration of the one God. *Respect* for Jesus Christ, and for the Scriptures, is perhaps the only thing which distinguishes from pure Deism the Christianity of Geneva."

Having, in another place, said that they no longer hold the same opinions even with respect to points elsewhere regarded as the fundamental truths of religion, and added, that "many believe not in the divinity of Christ, of which Calvin, their leader, was so zealous a defender," D'Alembert exclaims, in the triumph of his unbelieving heart, "O Bossuet, where art thou? Eighty years have passed away since you predicted that the principles of the Protestants would lead them to Socinianism: what gratitude do you not owe to the author of an article which has attested to all Europe the truth of your prophecy!"¹

It is true that the full extent of the terrible charge made against these Genevan pastors was denied;² but so confident were their accusers,—

and does not seem to differ very much from the sentiment of the more plain-spoken heathen,—

"Quare Relligio pedibus subjecta vicissim
Obteritur, nos exæquat victoria cælo." Lucretius, i. 86.

¹ *Œuvres de D'Alembert*, tome v. pp. 272, 283, ed. Paris, 1805. "On abolit une religion ridicule," was the sentiment of the class of men represented by Frederick II. of Prussia, "et l'on en introduit une plus extravagante." *Correspondance avec D'Alembert*, tome i. p. 136.

² Grosley, author of *Observations sur l'Italie*, says that "there were still some old ministers who were attached to the ancient forms, but that they were little esteemed." D'Alembert, p. 308.

who indeed knew them too well to be deceived,—that they were content, in justification of the accusation which they had brought, to refer them to the judgment of all their brother Protestants. And even this it was unnecessary to do, since the pastors themselves admit, in their defence, all the primary principles of Socinianism, and do not shrink from using its familiar language even while they deny that they have adopted its creed. But it is time to speak now of that later development, which differs from that which we have thus far considered in one respect, namely, that its real character is no longer concealed or denied even by those who have been the agents in bringing it about.

The immediate cause of the shocking disclosures with regard to the religious state of Geneva, which created a few years back such a powerful sensation on the neighbouring continent, was the publication at that place, in 1816, of a pamphlet which was entitled, “Considerations upon the Divinity of Jesus Christ,”¹ and addressed to the students of the theological schools of Geneva. In this pamphlet, the *Venerable Company of Pastors*—the ecclesiastical senate of that city—were plainly charged with denying the divinity of our Lord. The charge was not even noticed; the College contenting itself, under these critical circumstances, with

¹ *Considérations sur la Divinité du Jésus-Christ, adressées à MM. les Etudiants de l'Auditoire de Théologie de l'Eglise de Genève*, par Henri Louis Empaytaz.

requiring all young ministers, and candidates for the ministry, to maintain a total silence within the canton of Geneva upon (1) the manner in which the divine nature is united to the person of Jesus Christ; and (2) upon original sin!

It was of course impossible that the dispute should terminate thus. The few who still retained some reverence for the ancient faith began to complain yet more earnestly; and at length the *Venerable Company of Pastors* was compelled to speak out. Their 'Defence' exhibits a very curious and instructive development of Calvinistic Protestantism. "In order to maintain the principle of Protestantism," they say, "it was absolutely *necessary* that the *Venerable Company* should renounce those opinions, the abandonment of which is objected to them as a crime. The *right of examination* is the foundation of the Protestant religion, and is the only element of fixedness which belongs to it." They go on to say, that to reject the doctrine of the Trinity, as incomprehensible, is *necessary* on their principles! and that the orthodox ought to go to Rome!¹

There was now no longer any hope of concealing their real sentiments, nor was any attempt made to do so: from that time they spoke and acted without reserve. M. César Malan, the foremost of their opponents, was suspended from the

¹ *Défense de la Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève, à l'occasion d'un écrit intitulé, "Véritable Histoire des Momiers."*

exercise of his office. On his protesting that he could henceforth “only belong to the Church of Geneva as it existed in the 16th century,” he was asked, “if the Company of Pastors chose to receive a Confession of Faith in the 16th century, why should not the same Company modify or reject it in the 18th?”¹ and we do not hear what was his reply. He was at length removed altogether from his office; and the reason assigned was, that “he made use of the Bible in the religious instruction of his class.” The subsequent conduct of the *Venerable Company* and their subordinates was not inconsistent with this beginning. The Abbé de la Mennais reports, on the authority of an eye-witness, that the rabble of Geneva, instigated or taught by the *Venerable Company of Pastors*, raised in the streets the horrible cry, *A bas Jésus-Christ!*² The orthodox began to be openly ridiculed, and even the most astounding ribaldry poured out upon them by journals in the influence of the *Venerable Company*.³ Nor was Geneva unrivalled in this pre-eminence of infamy.

The “orthodox ministers” of the Canton de Vaud having addressed a letter to the members of the Council of State, declaring their resolution to separate themselves from the established com-

¹ *Mélanges de Religion*, tome iii. p. 94.

² *Histoire Véritable des Momiers de Genève*, Œuvres de M. de la Mennais, tome viii. pp. 392-4.

³ *Feuille d'Avis de Genève*, le 7 Octobre, 1818, quoted in the *Mémorial Catholique*, tome i. p. 117.

munity, as had been done in Geneva, because of the infidelity of that body, they were—in despite of the ‘fundamental principle of Protestantism’—committed to prison.¹

By the Council of Lausanne the same class of remonstrants were condemned as a “new sect,” and jested upon as hypocrites and methodists.² The course of argument which was adopted by the framers of this decree deserves also special notice: they are indignant chiefly at the circumstance that these men should presume to separate from “*the national church*” and “*the religion of the state*,”—the very arguments which had excited the scorn of their founders. This history of the development of ‘Presbyterianism’ in the very city of its famous author, and the ‘metropolis of Protestantism,’ is sufficiently important to justify some further details. The following appear worthy of notice.

It was in 1788—that is, just thirty years after the reply of the Genevan Pastors to the article of D’Alembert—that the Catechism of Calvin, hitherto the most approved class-book, was *withdrawn*.³

¹ *Mélanges de Religion*, tome ix. p. 342. Upon this exhibition of ‘toleration’ a Catholic writer observes, “Elle permet qu’on attaque la Trinité, qu’on nie l’Incarnation, que l’on conteste l’éternité des peines; la tolérance le veut ainsi:—mais professer la divinité de Jésus-Christ, c’est une licence qui ne doit pas rester impunie dans la métropole du protestantisme!” *L’Ami de la Religion*, t. xix. p. 164.

² *Mémorial Catholique*, tome i. p. 117.

³ *L’Ami de la Religion*, tome xix. p. 161. “The Catechism of Calvin has been changed for one on the Socinian system, which is now generally taught. M. Vernet’s *System of Theology*, which

In 1807 a Liturgy, expurgated upon Socinian principles, was substituted for that formerly in use.¹

Again: the profession of faith in the divinity of our Lord was once used by all the reformed communities of France, adopted from them by the Pastors of Geneva, and printed together with the Bible, being affixed to the Gospels, the Psalms, and the Liturgy. It is found in the Bibles of 1605 and 1723; but it is suppressed in the edition of 1805. It is in the Genevan edition of the Psalms of 1713; it has disappeared in the edition of 1780. It was joined to the New Testament of 1570; it is not to be found in that of 1802.² The translation of the Bible published at Geneva in 1805, which occupied ninety years, has altered many of the passages relating to our Lord's divinity. Thus, instead of *Verbum erat apud Deum*, they put, *La parole était avec Dieu*;—and the other instances are often much worse than this.³

affirms that our blessed Lord was a mere man, is the standard work of divinity used in the university. It will be remembered that it was at Geneva that M. Vernet was Professor of Divinity; and not long since his successor in the chair proclaimed to his scholars, *ex cathedra*, 'Faites de Jésus-Christ tout ce que vous voulez; mais ne l'en faites pas Dieu.'" See *A Sketch of the Religious Discussions which have lately taken place at Geneva*, pp. 4, 5.

¹ *Chronique Religieuse*, tome iii. p. 599.

² *L'Ami de la Religion*, tome xi. p. 357. M. Sismondi says, that "the Church of Geneva suppressed, as early as the year 1705, the practice of compelling the members of her clergy to sign the same confession of faith." *Review of the Progress of Religious Opinions during the 19th Century*, p. 62, English edit.

³ But this is not a new device. The learned Dean of Westminster observes, that "in Campbell's *Dissertations* some circum-

Such are some of the startling facts which the history of Protestantism in Switzerland presents to us.¹ It may be well to notice, in conclusion, the remarks which its present condition has elicited from persons of various and opposite sentiments.

“They have been careful,” says one, “to remove from their church every thing which might disturb a Socinian peace: their translations of the Bible, Liturgy, and Catechisms, have been systematically reduced to the level of that view of Christianity; they have formally prohibited the promulgation of those articles of belief which it rejects; they have indefinitely suspended a minister for faithfully preaching the doctrines of all orthodox churches; and, lastly, they have now deposed the same individual from his office in the University,

stances are mentioned which bear hard upon Beza’s integrity as a translator;” and he adds, “I fear there is too much justice in them.” Dean Turton *On the Text of the Bible*, p. 109, note, 2d edition. Cf. Feuardent. *Theomach. Calvinist.* lib. xiv. cap. 1.

¹ “You have entirely abandoned the principles of your Church at the Reformation,” says a very zealous Protestant, addressing the *Venerable Company*, “and your complaint now is of the revival of *Calvinism*, the very doctrine which was then taught! . . . The doctrine which you preach is not the Gospel of the grace of God, but, on the contrary, subversive of it: in a word, *you have become Arians.*” Haldane’s *Letter to M. J. J. Chenevière*, pp. 3, 4. And their morals appear to be almost as bad as their religion: see the statement of M. Raoul Rochette, in his *Lettres sur la Suisse*; and the remarks of an English dissenter, Dr. J. Pye Smith, quoted in the *Monthly Repository*, vol. xx. p. 331. Nor does their political condition appear to be much better: see the *Tableau Historique et Politique de la dernière Révolution de Genève*, p. 38, ed. Genève, 1782.

because he made use of the Bible in the religious instruction of his class."¹

"The Church of Geneva," writes another, whose sympathies are wholly Calvinistic, "which shone with such effulgence to the limits of Europe, while illumined by a Calvin and a Beza, is now in a state of degradation lower and viler than that deadly thralldom which in former times roused the righteous indignation and called forth the manly energies of her elder, her nobler sons."²

A Socinian preacher thus describes the state of religion in Geneva in 1827: "In their opinions they are not altogether what we are; but they are not many degrees removed from us. I asked one of them what, in general, were the sentiments of his church respecting the person of Christ. He replied, 'You will find among us a few Trinitarians, and many Arians.'³ The candidates for holy orders, he told me, are only required to profess their belief in the Bible,—not in any particular creed."⁴ This unhappy man goes on to dis-

¹ *Documents relative to the Deposition of the Rev. C. Malan from his Office in the College of Geneva*, Preface, p. xi. (1829.)

² *Sermons of César Malan*, Translator's preface, pp. 5, 6.

³ "At the present time the twenty-seven pastors of the established church of the canton (of Geneva) are understood, with two or three exceptions, to hold to Unitarian opinions." *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. xiv. *Appendix*, p. 599. "Le corps des pasteurs de cette ville," says one of their own number to a protestant teacher at Montauban, "ne sera bientôt plus qu'une agrégation philosophique et une société littéraire." *L'Ami de la Religion*, tome xiii. p. 229.

⁴ Vide *Monthly Repository*, vol. i. pp. 641-3.

tinguish “the reformed clergy of Geneva” with his praise of their impious sentiments.

Lastly, the feelings excited by these events in the minds of Catholics are such as the following:—
 “The *Venerable Company of Pastors*,” says De la Mennais, “faithful to that principle of protestantism which recognises no other rule of faith than reason, or the Scriptures interpreted by reason, has been compelled to abandon by degrees the profession of a fixed faith, and to deny all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity,—original sin, and consequently the redemption, the necessity of grace, eternal punishments, and, at length, the divinity of Jesus Christ. We say that it denies these doctrines; for to prohibit the promulgation of them is surely to deny them very emphatically. And from this it appears, that the centre of the Calvinistic reformation has become the centre of deism, and that there no longer exists in the Protestant Rome, I do not say any Christian faith, but any faith whatsoever; since a minister who has powerful confederates in the Company has publicly avowed his desire¹ that every creed should be renounced—even that of the Apostles, which begins with the words, *I believe in God*.”²

¹ The minister referred to is M. J. Heyer, and his publication is entitled *Coup-d'œil sur les Confessions de Foi*, Genève, 1818. Cf. *De l'Usage des Confessions de Foi dans les Communions Réformées*, par Etienne Chastel, 1823; and *Considerations sur l'Unité de la Foi*, par J. Martin, 1822.

² *Histoire Véritable des Momiers de Genève*, p. 391.

Once more. "It is long," says another, "since D'Alembert exulted in the apostacy of the *Venerable Company* of Geneva, which believed no longer in the divinity of Jesus Christ. At that time, however, a decent exterior was still preserved; and all the world was not in the secret. Times have changed; and, thanks to the lights of the age, Geneva has deemed that men's minds are sufficiently prepared¹ to receive a doctrine which might justify the haughty inscription on her arms, *Post tenebras lux*. This light is *evangelical* deism. The Company of Pastors has proclaimed it; and the

¹ M. de Fernex, one of the pastors of Geneva, on the 14th Jan. 1819, actually pronounced the following discourse in the consistory: "Genève jouissait depuis près d'un siècle du calme religieux; elle pouvoit hardiment soumettre sa croyance à l'examen de sa raison, séparer les vérités fondamentales, incontestablement enseignées dans l'Evangile, de celles qui . . . ne sont pas d'une égale importance; elle pouvoit, en s'attachant fortement aux unes, suspendre son jugement sur les autres, attendre que *de nouvelles* lumières lui permissent de prononcer avec plus de maturité. Mais cette heureuse privilège elle le possédoit *comme à l'insu des autres Eglises*; contente de jouir de la paix, elle n'aspirait point à paraître avoir secoué un joug auquel, partout ailleurs, on était encore trop asservi *pour qu'elle pût espérer de faire goûter ses principes*. Cependant on l'accuse de s'écarter de la doctrine reçue, de mettre moins d'importance à certains dogmes . . . *On la presse de répondre, elle hésite*; elle craint d'engager des querelles; on insiste; et quoique décidée à demeurer fidèle au silence que les circonstances et l'autorité des chefs de l'état lui imposaient, elle laisse en quelque sorte échapper son secret, qui, révélé à certaines époques, eût révolté les esprits, et à d'autres n'eût fait aucune sensation." Quoted by M. A. Bost, in his *Genève religieuse en Mars 1819*, pp. 12 et seqq., Genève, 1819. This extraordinary document is in itself proof enough of these two instructive facts,—that Calvin's ecclesiastical community is now a mere company of philosophical atheists, and that it has become so in secret and by degrees.

great reformer Calvin is now nothing but a miserable *Momier*, whom they jeer and persecute in the persons of his true disciples, the *Momiers* of Geneva and Lausanne. This Calvin caused Servetus to be burned, who taught three centuries too soon that which is now taught by the *Venerable Company*. But such are the capricious variations of the reformed doctrine, that in the very place in which the funeral pile was lighted for Servetus, he is henceforth to be exalted as a martyr to the true faith!"¹

IV. We have traced thus far the development of Protestantism² in those countries only in which it may be said to have first originated; and if the principles of that celebrated movement may be fairly judged of by the results to which, in both countries, they have led, then certainly the present condition of the disciples of Luther and Melanc-

¹ *Mémorial Catholique*, tome i. p. 116.

² It may be right to offer some explanation of the use which has been made of this word throughout these pages. To have rejected it lightly or inconsiderately, without regard to the prejudices of the many excellent persons amongst us who would still retain it, were no sign of wisdom. But the reasons for laying it aside are, indeed, so weighty, the term is now so seriously objectionable, both as being the symbol, for the most part, of undisguised heresy, and a needless cause of offence to Catholics in other lands, as well as in itself savouring strongly of the *humana vocabula* of mere modern sects, that we may well be anxious to be rid of it without further delay. Nor does the rejection of this now almost unchristian phrase need any apology in the case of a member of the English Church, because that Church has ever discountenanced its use, and, on more than one occasion, emphatically refused to employ it; the members of the

thon, of Calvin and Zuingle, and the aspect of the communities of which they were the founders, leave us no room for doubt or hesitation as to the judgment which we should pronounce upon them. Without, however, anticipating the remarks which it may be right to defer until we have examined the history of those principles in many other lands, we may proceed at present with our inquiry; and the next country which claims our attention is *France*.

It was in 1555 that "the first avowed French Church, on the principles of the Reformation, was established at Paris." This position had only been attained by the French Protestants after many years of anxious struggle and severe sufferings. At length the day of repose and tranquillity had arrived; and we are told by those who have studied this branch of history minutely, that "day by day the Reformation embedded itself more

lower house of Convocation even protesting against it, "on the avowed principle that they disowned all communion with foreign (protestant) churches." See Cardwell's *Conferences*, ch. ix. p. 424; and Palmer's *Ecclesiastical History*, ch. xxi. I know it may be said, that our own most revered divines have not scrupled to use the phrase in question; but this argument appears to me disingenuous,—for the developments of 'protestantism' which we are now contemplating, were not, of course, included in their notion of it; and when they spoke of 'protestants' and 'protestantism,' they had something else in their minds than those repulsive forms of error and blasphemy which are now designated by those terms. Perhaps it may even be questioned whether many of those venerable persons, if their voices could be heard amongst us at this day, would not say of some whom they were used to commend, as St. Jerome did in the like case, "*Decepit nos bona de malis existimatio*;" *Adv. Luciferian*. cap. vii. tom. ii. p. 201.

firmly in France, and secretly or openly *a very large proportion of the population* embraced its doctrines."¹ By the end of the 16th century, so great had been their progress, that "there were seven hundred and sixty parish-churches belonging to the Protestants of France, *all in good order*;" and so far from the members of these churches being confined, as is usual when new religious opinions are received, to the lower orders of men only, it appears that, about the year 1600, no fewer than "four thousand of the nobility of France belonged to that confession."²

But it seems that neither the power of the noble nor the affections of the people, neither the learning and virtues of one class nor the fiery zeal of another, could long preserve a communion which had ventured to change the Polity of the Apostles, from the curse which, in every age, has attached to those who have divorced that union between the Faith and the Discipline of the Church which the law of God has made inseparable.³ Another

¹ Smedley's *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, chap. ii. vol. i. p. 62.

² Vide Ranke's *History of the Popes*, book vii. chap. i. § 7. vol. ii. p. 439, English edition. See also Soulier, *Statistique des Eglises Réformées de France*, Introd.

³ "It is remarkable that" the denial of the great essential articles of the creed, the incarnation, the ascension, and other doctrines connected with the Divinity of our Lord, and the rejection of episcopal government, "have always been closely linked together; from Aerius to Socinus, the same persons who were zealous in propagating false views of the Episcopacy of the Church have also been remarkable for erroneous opinions in regard to our Lord's Person and Divinity."

century had not passed away, before the awful tokens of this curse began to be manifested. It is enough, in a mere sketch like the present, to refer for proof of this to the controversy between the famous Bossuet and the protestant champion Jurieu. The latter, in very wantonness as it seems, had accused certain French Catholics of Socinianism. Bossuet replies by a simple denial of the statement, and adds these words: "It is true indeed that there are certain churches in France which have been accused, and with good reason, of a leaning towards Socinianism . . . *but then these are the reformed Calvinistic churches*,—a circumstance which ought not to surprise us. It is said that the greater number of their ministers follow rather the opinions of Arminius and the Remonstrants his disciples, than those of Calvin or of Beza, and that there are those amongst them who embrace Socinianism; which has occasioned a great sensation in the Consistories."¹ Up to this period, then, there still remained in the governing bodies, even upon the testimony of Bossuet, the will at

Todd's *Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Antichrist*, p. 294. The author of the work entitled *No Protestant, but the Dissenters' Plot* (1682), takes notice accordingly, that "the original of *congregational* episcopacy is by some ascribed to Socinus himself, who, knowing that the Synods of the reformed churches in Poland, &c. . . . thought on this model of *Independent Churches* which Mr. Baxter and the Dissenters contend for." p. 118.

¹ *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, part i. chap. xxxvi. p. 176. Bossuet was able, too, to quote Jurieu's own words, that "the Trinity of Persons was not from all eternity." 1^{er} Avertissement, p. 10; and see tome iv. p. 38.

least to struggle with this heresy ; but they had broken down “ the hedge of discipline ” with which “ God’s enclosure ” was ever surrounded ; they had cast away the divinely-appointed safeguard of truth ; and to such a struggle there could be but one issue. What it has been, we are now to hear.

So complete has been the downfall of the Protestant religion in France, so universal the apostacy of its professors, that there are at this moment certain societies, of recent organisation, which owe their origin to the laudable desire of redeeming from their present condition the descendants of Calvin and Beza in that country ! Connected with these societies—the *Sociétés Evangéliques* of Geneva and France—by unity of sentiment and purpose, is the “ Foreign-Aid Society ” of our own country. It is from the quarterly publication of that society, for December 1841, that the following account of French Protestantism is extracted :—

“ The consistorial churches,” which are protected and maintained by government, “ were reorganised without a creed, and, in most cases, without any formulary whatever, so that there were no means of ascertaining what the faith was which was couched under the general name of Protestantism ; but as inquiries were made by individuals interested in the purity of the reformed religion, it was gradually discovered that the great body of the salaried pasteurs was infected with the neologism of Germany and the infidelity of the age of

Louis XV.: *it was hardly possible to find twenty pasteurs who confessed the doctrine of the Trinity and the Atonement.* At this time the established (that is, the state-paid) Protestantism of France *is for the most part Socinianism*; and therefore it is not to be wondered at that the orthodox minority should feel anxious either to reform the majority or to recede from it. If they seek to reform by insisting upon the introduction of their ancient creeds and formularies, the Socinian majority tax them with intolerance, call them Methodists, Calvinists, and Exclusists. If they recede (as in some few instances they have done), they call them Separatists and Dissenters. Such, however, has been the progress of orthodox doctrines, that within the last ten years the Trinitarians have received an acquisition of more than 100 pasteurs, making in all an estimated number of 150 out of the 404 who faithfully preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and whose lives adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour." The foregoing account has reference only to the ministers of the 'reformed' religion: "the Lutheran pasteurs," it is added, "*with a few exceptions, are neologists or Socinians.*"

It may appear superfluous to add any thing to such a statement, coming as it does from persons who would probably be far enough from assigning what we consider the true cause of these miserable results of Protestantism. Before, however, I proceed, as in the former cases, to give some illustra-

tions from their own writings of the theology of modern French Protestants, it may be well to confirm what has been already said by the striking and eloquent account of another writer, who seems to have examined in person the system which he describes. He speaks of "the general character of French Protestantism" in the year 1836 in the following terms: "The character which the reformed Church has acquired in France is altogether peculiar,—peculiar, not from its rejection of evangelical doctrines, but from its indifference to all doctrines. Christianity must appear to the great majority of French Protestants to have in it nothing positive or defined at all. A certain laxness of opinion, and a considerable abatement of fervour, may characterise, perhaps, all long-established churches. With us, for instance, the early enthusiasm and zeal of the Reformation has subsided into a concentrated feeling of respect and reverence for the Christian religion, which, even where there is nothing more, has a powerful and beneficent influence. But this state of feeling does not describe the reformed population of France. Their sentiments are much more negative. As the effect of their long proscription,¹ they have brought their vagabond habit

¹ Such is the explanation of their present condition suggested by this writer; but we must look much deeper for the true causes of it. It is well known that during the period of the revolution the French protestants were protected rather than depressed; see Gregoire's *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*, Obs. prélim. p. 5. Rabaut, president of the national assembly, speaks of "the signal protection

of neutrality among all opinions into religious worship. This gives to it an appearance singularly revolting. There is in it neither conviction, nor that venerating and hallowing attachment to a creed which is its best substitute. On entering a French temple, one experiences the same sensation as on entering a Jewish synagogue. Its services appear like a wretched effort, not to serve, but to keep up the memory of an abolished religion. They would indeed resemble a funeral requiem over defunct Protestantism, if they had the solemnity and decency of so touching a ceremony. The only symp-

granted to the reformed and protestant churches by the great Napoleon;" Cobbin's *Historical View of the Reformed Church of France*, p. 105: and I find certain English Socinians rejoicing, in the year 1808, at the favour which was then shewn to those communities by the same person; *Monthly Repository*, vol. iii. p. 160. And no wonder that the French protestants experienced such partial treatment, when we consider what sort of men they proved themselves at that season. "I am sorry to say," observes Mr. Burke, "that they (the French protestants) have behaved shockingly since the very beginning of this rebellion, and have been uniformly concerned in its worst and most atrocious acts. Their clergy are just the same atheists with those of the 'constitutional' catholics, but still more wicked and daring." *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies*, Works, vol. vii. p. 177, ed. 1808. Contrast with this the conduct of the catholic clergy at the same period, of whom 135 Bishops, and many thousands of Priests, preferred exile or death to a denial or suppression of the truth; only four prelates being found to apostatise. De la Mennais, *Réflexions sur l'Etat de l'Eglise en France*, tome vi. p. 65. The truth is, that men being driven to give some account of the present state of protestantism in France, as elsewhere, have gladly pointed to the Revolution as its cause:—thus the writer in Rees' *Encyclopedia*, art. *Geneva*. Whereas even M. De Sismondi expressly denies—with regard to Switzerland, Holland, and Germany—that the number of infidels in the protestant bodies was increased by that event.

tom of religious feeling I have seen among the old French Protestants is one which, taken by itself, shews that superstition, or an inclination to trust in external rites, is the last relic of devotional sentiment that remains among them. They have a most indecent eagerness to receive the sacrament. Drove of persons utterly ignorant and careless of religion crowd to this ceremony.¹ I was told by an old pastor, that fifteen years ago he could not count six ministers of the established worship who preached the gospel. He thinks that at present, out of the six hundred belonging to the national temple, there may be two hundred who, with more or less effect and sincerity, uphold Christian principles. At the former epoch he assured me that the preaching of Socrates instead of Christ was almost universal!² Actually, in the

¹ Of the profane administration of the sacrament at Geneva to any body whatever, see the account in the *Mémorial Catholique*, tome viii. p. 151.

² Mr. Haldane says of the students at Geneva, "had they been trained in the schools of Socrates or Plato, they could scarcely have been more ignorant of the doctrines of the Gospel." *Letter to M. J. J. Chenevière*, p. 21; cf. *Chronique Religieuse*, tome ii. pp. 470, 71. We cannot be surprised, indeed, at the similarity of development in the two countries, as well because the point of departure of all the protestant bodies was of course the same, and so could not but lead to the same results, as from the particular connexion which always subsisted between the protestant schools of France and Switzerland. See the *Annales de la Religion*, tome xv. p. 290. The sympathy between them is still unbroken, and it embraces also their brethren in Germany. Thus M. Céliér recommends the study of the German theology to the French protestants; *Religion et Christianisme*, tome i. p. 163, *Des Théologiens Allemands*: and in the controversy between the Socinians and the more orthodox of Geneva,

great majority of pulpits, an insipid dilution of the truisms of moral philosophy takes the place of Christianity. Still, a progress has been made, and is making. It must spread, however, much wider before the French Reformed Church can be other than a very melancholy and disheartening object of contemplation."¹

Such being the actual *status* of this community, a few examples may be added of the mode in which its present members are accustomed to defend their adherence to it, and to propose the principles of their religious belief; because these will serve to shew—what is, perhaps, of more importance in this inquiry than even the facts themselves—that these men, widely as they differ in some respects from those celebrated reformers, have arrived at their present advanced position in the course of blasphemy and unbelief, simply by following on in the broad and beaten path which Luther and Melancthon, Calvin and Beza, had opened to them.

Now it is frequently admitted by the French Protestant writers, without the least reserve, *that Socinianism was the direct and necessary consequence of their Reformation*; and this fearful condemnation

the French divines—so to call them—sided, for the most part, with Heyer and Chenevière, abusing Malan, Haldane, and Calvin. See *Religion et Christianisme*, tome iv. p. 159; and De Sismondi, *ubi supra*, p. 60: Perhaps there is no more melancholy feature in the whole affair, than that the very few who strove for the truth, and witnessed against the blasphemies of the rest, did so upon principles which must inevitably lead to them again.

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, April 1836, pp. 470, 71.

of that movement they pronounce as if it were no condemnation at all. "The *freedom of inquiry*," say their ablest advocates, "*could not but inevitably produce these results*."¹ This liberty occasions indeed certain disorders and evils, which do not appear consistent with the holiness, the wisdom, and the goodness of God. But in order to restrain these, you must suppress at the same time all which elevates man, his communion with the Creator, and the honour of the earthly creation—you must annihilate the moral world."²

"Far from blushing," says another writer, "at the variations which their religious creed has undergone, Protestants do not hesitate openly to acknowledge them; and in an age such as ours, when the processes of investigating and discovering truth are now familiar, they expect to derive glory from them!"³ Plancke even says, in reply to the charge

¹ "C'est beaucoup," says De la Mennais, "que d'avoir obtenu un pareil aveu, d'où il résulte que le protestantisme n'est point une religion, mais l'amas incohérent de toutes les pensées qui peuvent monter dans l'esprit de l'homme." *Œuvres*, tome viii. p. 399.

² See the reply to the Abbé Gregoire's History in the *Mélanges de Religion*, tome ii.

³ *Mélanges de Religion*, tome i. p. 84: and M. Coquerel says, "la diversité des sectes qui partagent le protestantisme *forme son plus beau titre de gloire*." See *L'Ami de la Religion*, tome xxii. p. 208. Our Fathers used to think, and they had the Scriptures on their side for this opinion at least, that such divisions portended the coming Antichrist: φοβεῖ με, says S. Cyril, τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· φοβεῖ με ἡ μισαδελφία τῶν ἀδελφῶν . . . μὴ γένοιτο δὲ, ἵνα ἐφ' ἡμῶν πληρωθῇ. *Catech.* xv. p. 167. We have surely at least as much need to remind ourselves of that most awful event, the coming of Antichrist; and to take heed, lest, by countenancing heresy and division, we be found at last to have accelerated the evil day.

which is here made a subject of congratulation, that the first Reformers, if they could come amongst their successors, would be ashamed to find it otherwise!¹ and he connects this, as he is explained by M. Goepp, a French pastor, with the "fundamental principle" of Protestantism in a very curious way. "The right," he observes, "which Luther exercised of purifying the doctrines of his day, and rendering them more conformable to the letter and true sense of the Gospel, this right all his successors possess in an equal degree." Upon which his French annotator consistently remarks, "It follows that Protestants cannot consider themselves as limited by the authority of Luther's sayings, nor those of the other reformers, nor even by that of their symbolical writings, and that their theology both can and ought to be tending towards *perfection*!"² And to the objections of Bossuet and others, that this is the very principle of Socinianism, he only answers by saying, "that does not prove it bad in itself."

M. Coquerel, the able editor of the *Revue Protestante*,³ says, "The great error which so many persons commit arises from their desire to make men of one mind upon a crowd of subjects and sys-

¹ "They boast of it," says Mr. Rose, speaking of the Germans, "as their very highest privilege, and *the very essence of a Protestant Church*, that its opinions should constantly change."

² *Archives du Christianisme*, tome i. pp. 330, 331.

³ This journal has, I believe, since become avowedly a supporter of the Socinian tenets. See the *Monthly Repository*, vol. iii. p. 780.

tems, of which not even the name is mentioned in the Gospel, such as"—and then he actually instances 'original sin,' 'expiation,' 'free will,' '*incarnation*,' 'consubstantiality,' and others, which he calls "merely human words."¹ "It is absolutely necessary," he says, "to reduce Revelation to what it is, and no more." The Socinians he openly defends,² maintaining that their admission of "the divine mission of a Saviour" comes to the same thing as if they attributed to Him a personal divinity; and he adds, speaking in behalf of all who bear the name of Protestants, "Unity reigns among us upon the capital doctrine of the nature of Christ. Our sects, indeed, understand his divinity in different ways, they make it reside in different modes; but they have a right to do so, seeing that it is a *mystery*." He adds, further, that 'confessions of faith,' 'decrees,' 'councils,' 'doctrinary synods,' are the real causes of disunion and sources of evil, "because they seek to define that which is mysterious"! And so he proposes to unite all sects whatsoever in what he calls a "fundamental Christianity;" and what sort of a creed that is, we learn from one of his confederates, who says, "Original sin, the doctrine of grace, predestination, the Lord's Supper, the nature of Jesus Christ and His union with God—these are *obscure subjects*, upon which

¹ *Lettre de M. Charles Coquerel à M. O'Egger, sur une Profession générale de toute l'Eglise Protestante*, Paris, 1827, p. 20, note.

² pp. 27, 39, and 42.

it is possible to hold many different opinions, not one of which shall be chargeable with absurdity."

M. Coquerel concludes his apology for Protestantism with these words: "The opinions of which I have given a summary are those of Huss, of Knox, of Luther, of Melancthon, of all the reformers. They do not hinder us from fraternising with Newton, the honour of our race, although he was a decided Unitarian or Socinian:"¹ it is only, he says, such as Pascal who are excluded from communion with Protestants—as to that man, "he had no real faith, his faith having been imposed upon him *by authority*."²

I will conclude these extracts, which it would be inconvenient to extend, with a remarkable saying of another very eminent champion of French Protestantism. After quoting with admiration a Genevan writer, who had gone so far as to say, "We only refuse to recognise as Christians those who themselves refuse to take that title," and who was willing to include even the faith of Romanists within the comprehensive limits of "fundamental Christianity," M. De Sismondi pronounces the following sentence upon himself and his co-religionists: "Thus it is no longer the reproach of heresy

¹ It is scarcely necessary to say that this statement is false. See M. Biot.

² Cf. *Lettre à M. Charles Coquerel*, par M. Arnaud Saintes; Paris, 1827. "Quod intelligimus," says St. Augustine, on the other hand, "debemus rationi; quod credimus, *auctoritati*; quod opinamur, errori." *De Utilitate Credendi*, cap. xi. tom. vi. p. 42.

or idolatry" (the rash charges of the original reformers!) "that one division of Christians repeats against the other—it is not even an accusation of error; *for the Protestant Church admits that she herself may be mistaken*: she claims only that liberty of thought which the Catholic Church renounces."¹ With these words, as containing the most ample though unconscious confession of the true character of Protestantism, we may terminate our inquiry into the development of the reformed doctrines in France.

V. And if we had determined to sum up at this point the historical notices which it is still proposed to pursue much more extensively, the conclusions intended to be founded upon them could hardly have been rejected as arbitrary or inconsequent. The most enthusiastic disciples of the modern schools of religion, however unsuspecting their attachment to a certain system of teaching may hitherto have been, cannot be supposed capable of regarding with apathy or indifference, much less of deliberately dismissing as insignificant, facts so arresting and so appalling as these. Nor will the results which they obtrude upon our attention appear less startling to such persons, because, so far as they are concerned, such consequences must have been altogether unexpected.

¹ *Progress of Religious Opinions during the Nineteenth Century*, p. 79.

By others they were foreseen and predicted from the first, but by them every warning of these possible developments has been laughed to scorn; and now the melancholy truth, which they have been so unwilling to believe, has come abroad at last, and cannot be hid. They have themselves cried aloud for a sign from God, and here it is!

Nor is it in one or two countries only that it has seemed good to Him to justify His own Institution, and, by abandoning the haughty devices of man to a swift and shameful decay, to admonish His people of the allegiance due to His appointed Ordinance;—in every place the same solemn lesson is set before us, in every land the progress has been the same,—resistance to the Church has developed into rebellion against God, and schism has terminated, by an unfailing course, in apostacy and unbelief.

The history of the new religions in *England*—to which country, in pursuance of our subject, we will now refer—admits of being considered under three aspects, which, at three distinct periods, they happen to have assumed. (1) The first is that which they presented when as yet only struggling for existence; (2) the next, when triumphant, for a brief season, over the ancient faith; (3) the last, the humbler form under which, enjoying the most ample toleration, they still survive amongst us. It is obvious that this diversity of external cir-

cumstance, which did not belong to either of the examples previously noticed, constitutes a severe trial of the rigid test which we have bound ourselves to apply, without exception, to every possible modification of the modern systems. That test will be found, however, to succeed, in this case as in the others, in faithfully detecting their real character.

Now, it must be observed, with reference to the first period of the history of which some few particulars are here to be mentioned, that, even when lurking in secret, the unhappy errors, which have since spread so extensively in this country, appear to have been fully developed in many minds, and their open promulgation only reserved for a more favourable opportunity than could be found under that system of watchful discipline which the Church had hitherto maintained. Thus we are told by one writer, that he had met with works published *between 1550 and 1640*, "full of as bold and impious railing expressions against the lawful power of the Crown and the order of Bishops as ever were uttered during the rebellion, or the whole subsequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy:"¹—and what is this but to say,

¹ Swift, *The Presbyterian's Plea of Merit*, Works, vol. viii. p. 393, ed. 1824. Sir W. Raleigh told the House of Commons in 1593, "that there were then near 20,000 Brownists in England." Quoted by Sir Peter Pett, *Happy Future State of England*, p. 280. Yet, while the Church stood, they were kept under: see Pelling's *Good Old Way*, p. 105; and Dr. Is. Basire *On Sacrilege*, p. 231.

that for ninety years the latent principles of rebellion were counteracted, and the poison of heretical doctrine neutralised, by the virtue of that divine Institution to which, by the appointment of God, the chastisement of error and the conservation of sound doctrine had been committed?¹ During all that period it is plain that the Church had answered this grand purpose of her being; and we shall find this striking fact so clearly demonstrated in the next interval of the history upon which we are engaged—the season, namely, of the temporary triumph of her adversaries—that we may proceed to consider at once the evidence upon which it rests. Had the office of the Church in restraining error during the century preceding the great rebellion been asserted only by her own members, it might perhaps have been fairly questioned by her enemies; but when we find, as we are now to do, that they are themselves the witnesses to this important truth—that, so long as her authority was recognised, heresy and lawless-

¹ “So long as the Bishops were not molested in their function,” says one who was apparently a member of another Communion, “the kingdome was not disquieted with any schismes or disorders in the Church. There durst not a sectarie shew his head, till those Christian guides were overborne with violence, and all superioritie among Pastors decryed;”—and then he shews what followed in one short year after their removal. See *A Letter concerning the present Troubles in England*, pp. 37, 38, English translation. I have quoted above, see page 343, the very remarkable admissions of Salmasius upon this subject; and I find Weismann also admitting that the state of England under the Protectorate fully justified the arguments of the Episcopal divines: *secul. xvii. tom. ii. p. 1100.*

ness were every where restrained, and that their dominion is to be dated from the very moment of her downfall—we shall have advanced another step towards proving the argument of these pages, and found additional reason for believing, from the admissions of their own advocates, that the modern systems of religion had never strength to contend with, much less to overcome, the powers and principles of evil which the Church had so easily overmastered, — *because, in fact, they have always failed to do so.*¹

During the course of a whole century the unchristian doctrines which, from various parts of Europe, had found their way into England,² although greedily received by no inconsiderable portion of the people, were yet unable, as has been already observed, to subvert the foundations of holy truth. At length, in the days of King Charles the Martyr, the sacred barriers which had stood so long unharmed, and against which all the floods of

¹ “No form of Government was ever so absolute as to keep out all abuses. Errors in religion are not presently to be imputed to the government of the Church; Arius, Pelagius, &c. were no Bishops. But, on the other side, if Bishops had not been, God knows what Churches, what Religion, what Sacraments, what Christ, we should have had at this day. And we may easily conjecture by that inundation of sects, which hath almost quite overwhelmed our poor Church on a sudden, since the authority of Bishops was suspended. The present condition of England doth plead more powerfully for Bishops than all that have writ for Episcopacy since the reformation of our Church.” Bramhall, *The Serpent Salve*, p. 605.

² Sir Dudley Carleton says, “Most of the puritan books sent over of late days into England” were written by Brownists at Leyden; *Letters*, p. 379.

error had vainly raged, were in an evil hour removed. The Church, by the mysterious judgments of God, was first taken captive, and then compelled to flee away as a fugitive,—her rivals were left alone.

(2.) The second period of their history was now arrived,—the period of their triumph. The plea upon which their rebellion was justified was of course the old one of a “reformation.” The doctrine and discipline of the Catholic and Apostolic Church was declared to be false and corrupt, and the new religion of ‘Presbyterianism’ set up in its place. And now was the proper season for the manifestation of its real character. If it was indeed that very system of the Apostles which its champions represented it to be, the days were come in which to prove it so; and all men might now expect to behold, under its beneficent influence, such a severe and abiding purity both of doctrine and manners as the world had not witnessed for at least fifteen ages. What, then, are the facts—to apply the test which no error can long baffle or elude—connected with this period of its history, this season of its strength and power? This is what we are next to inquire.

And unless the evidence had been so complete as it is, we might have regarded the statements which have reached us as to the condition of England under the short reign of the Presbyterians as absolutely incredible. Within four years,

upon the confession of some of their chief men, after the destruction of the Church, the whole land was overflowed, from one end to the other, with a deluge of heresy. More than one hundred blasphemous errors are enumerated by their own writers, "all of them," as they speak, "vented and broached *within these four years last past.*"¹ "Every day," says the writer here quoted, himself a zealous Presbyterian and fluent railer at the persecuted Bishops, "things grow worse and worse, and you can hardly conceive and imagine them so bad as they are; no kind of blasphemy, heresy, disorder, and confusion, but either is found among us, or coming in upon us; *for we, instead of a reformation, are grown from one extreme to another, fallen from Scylla to Charybdis, from popish innovations, superstitions, and prelatical tyranny, to damnable heresies, horrid blasphemies, libertinism, and fearful anarchy; our evils are not removed and cured, but only changed; one disease and devil hath left us, and another as bad is come in the room;—yea, this last extremity into which we are fallen is far more high, violent, and dangerous, in many respects.*"²

As a general description of the state of the times, this account, from a witness so well qualified, might seem sufficient; but he enters presently

¹ Edwards' *Gangræna*, p. 1; and see Ross's *View of all Religions*, § 14, p. 422, ed. 1673.

² Epistle dedicatory to the Parliament.

into particulars. "Within these four last years in England," he says, "there have been blasphemies uttered of the Scriptures, the Trinity, each Person of the Trinity, both of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of God's eternal election, of the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and holy penmen of Scripture, of Baptism, Prayer, the Ministry of the Word, and the Ministers of all the Reformed Churches, of the Government of the Church, and of the Christian Magistrates :"¹ and then he gives various instances of these crimes.

Such were the attendants upon Presbyterianism even in its day of unlimited power, when, if ever, it ought to have been able to restrain them; such were the consequences which ensued *immediately* upon the casting out of the Bishops of the Church.² This witness does not, indeed, say that the one was a necessary result of the other, nor could he be expected to do so; but he does, unintentionally of course, say something very like it. "We have over-passed," he confesses, "in these last four years, the deeds of the Prelates, and justified the Bishops, *in whose times never so many nor so great errors were heard of, much less such blasphemies or confusions; we have worse things among us than ever*

¹ *Gangræna*, p. 37.

² And this result has often been predicted as the operation of a general law. "The Christian religion," says Harrington, "was first planted by Bishops, hath been preserved and continued with Bishops, and will fall and decay without Bishops." *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 10.

were in all the Bishops' days, more corrupt doctrines and unheard-of practices:"¹ and then he refers to the horrible tenets and opinions which were then so common. Nor does he apparently suspect that they were, after all, only another form of his own principles of pride and rebellion, and that these wretched people had just as much right, to say the least, to abuse him and his novelties, as he to blaspheme the Bishops of God's Church.²

As this writer was a person of note in his own

¹ Page 143. Sir Peter Pett quotes the confession of Crauford, an eminent presbyterian preacher, that "in eighty years there did not arise so many horrid opinions and blasphemous heresies under Episcopacy, a government decried as antichristian, as have risen in these few years since we have been without a government." *Future State of England*, p. 240. Another zealous presbyterian, and reviler of the Bishops, says, "The corruptions of our days exceed those of the Bishops as far as the waters of the ocean exceed those of the Rhine." *Hornii Hist. Ecclesiast. et Politic.* p. 333, ed. Roterod. See also Goodwin *On the Divine Authority of the Scriptures*, To the Reader (1648); Case's *Morning Exercise*, Preface (1655); and the *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*, Preface by the Provincial Assembly of London, 1654.

² "You have put down the Common Prayer," was his own saying to the revolutionary Parliament, "and there are many among us have put down the Scriptures; you have cast out the Bishops and their officers, and we have many that cast down to the ground all ministers in all the reformed Churches." So Baxter: "We had taken down the superfluous honour of Bishops as antichristian, upon which the devil set them to cry down also as antichristian, tythes, maintenance, priests, and ministers." And why not? They were only employing the very arguments with which he and his party had already attacked many other ordinances of God; and, as Bramhall remarks, "there is not a text which they wrest against Episcopacy, but the Independents may, with as much colour of reason and truth, urge it against their presbyteries." *Fair Warning of Scottish Discipline*, ch. viii. vol. ii. p. 506.

day, and has been much quoted since, a few more of his remarkable sayings may be added. In one place he observes, "that persons who would not be endured nor suffered in other countries and churches, but were cast out and banished for their errors, heresies, and turbulency, do here in England vent and spread their opinions, gather churches," &c.; and that "England has become the common shore and sink to receive the filth of heresies and errors from all places." And as if he had not already sufficiently exposed the guilt of his own party, he even adds, that their very "victories and successes turned to the increasing and growth of errors; every taking of a town or city is a further spreading over this kingdom the gangrene of heresy and error; *where these errors were never known nor heard of before, upon our taking of towns and cities they come to light*; every enlarging of our quarters is an enlargement of sectarianism and a multiplying of schisms."¹ Such is the testimony as to the working of Presbyterianism which is supplied by its own advocates.

Thus far, however, we have heard only an individual teacher of that sect; we may now refer to the collective evidence of one of the most influential and important of its subdivisions. "The Ministers within the Province of London," at the same period, in their *Testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ*, thus speak of the results of the pres-

¹ p. 149.

byterian 'reformation.' They declare to the world "that instead of true piety and power of godliness, they (the ejectors of the Bishops) had opened the very floodgates to all impiety and profaneness; and that after they had removed the *prelatical yoke* from their shoulders by their covenanted endeavours, there was a rueful, deplorable, and deformed face of the affairs of religion, swarming with noisome errors, heresies, and blasphemies, instead of faith and truth; torn in pieces with destructive schisms, separations, divisions, and subdivisions, instead of unity and uniformity. That instead of a reformation, they might say with sighs what their enemies said with scorn, they had a deformation in religion; instead of extirpation of heresie, schism, profaneness, &c., they had an impudent and general inundation of all those evils."¹

This is sufficiently circumstantial; but, as the evidence is abundant, something more may be added. The notorious Owen thus speaks of the same awful period in the history of our country. "This I am compelled to say, that unlesse the

¹ Upon which Pierce, in his controversy with Baxter, asks, "Can you possibly have more, sir, against the change in the Church than is here publicly attested by them that made it? There were no such things in the Bishops' times; nay, none such could be. God's enclosure was then so mounded with a hedge of *Discipline* and *Order*, and even the hedge was so fenced with a double wall of *Law* and *Canon*, that either no unclean beasts could enter in, or, if they did, they were soon cast out and impounded. . . . You now profess you are all for Bishops; but when you had them, you would have none." Pierce's *New Discoverer*, pp. 145, 6.

Lord in His infinite mercy lay an awe upon the hearts of men, to keep them in some captivity to the simplicity and mystery of the Gospel, who now strive every day to exceed one another in novel opinions and philosophical apprehensions of the things of God, I cannot but fear that this soul-destroying abomination (he is speaking of Socinianism) will one day break in as a flood upon us." And again; "Doe not look upon these things as things afar off, wherein you are little concerned; the evil is at the doore; *there is not a Citty, a Towne, scarce a Village, in England, wherein some of this poyson is not poured forth.*"¹

It is this last-mentioned phenomenon — the sudden appearance of the Socinian heresy in every part of England, within a few years of the abolition of Episcopacy — which, in connexion with our present subject, deserves special attention. The almost unparalleled crimes which marked the ascendancy of Presbyterianism, though a sufficient and significant token of its real nature, and therefore not to be overlooked in this argument, are still not in the immediate direction of our inquiry.

¹ Owen's *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ, or Socinianisme examined*, Preface, pp. 45 and 69. Even Fowler calls it "this hour of apostasie;" *Dæmonium Meridianum*, Dedication. And see *The Attestation of the Ministers of the County of Norfolk and City of Norwich, in vindication of the ancient Truths of Jesus Christ, and prosecution of the Solemn Covenant, against the spreading errors and prodigious blasphemies that are scattered abroad in these licentious dayes.* (1648.)

That system may exist, and has existed, without such disgraceful accompaniments. What we are rather concerned to prove is, the fact implied in the above citation, viz., that it has *never* existed without generating that peculiar form of heresy of which Owen speaks in such emphatic language. This has been already proved as respects those countries in which it first originated; and the present chapter will not be concluded without extending the proof to other lands throughout the whole world. Meanwhile, to return to the development of the modern systems in England.

The fact of the strange and silent growth of Socinianism under the circumstances shewn above did not fail to attract the notice of Catholic writers; and the observations which they made upon it are too instructive to be omitted here. "It hath bin," says Dr. Edwards, in his excellent *Preservative against Socinianism*, "as the occasion of trouble to all good men, so likewise matter of wonder and enquiry to all considering men, to find the nation pestered with such numbers of Socinian books, *which have swarm'd all upon a suddain*,¹ and have been industriously dispersed through all parts of the kingdom, whereby many weak and unstable souls have been beguiled, and their minds corrupted from the simplicity which is in Christ.

¹ It was just while the famous schism of the Remonstrants was raging, that Socinian publications began to swarm in Holland. Vide Cloppenburg, *De Orig. et Progress. Socinianismi*, p. 27.

“ Who they are, who have bin the secret abettors and promoters of these antichristian doctrines, as it is variously discoursed, so I shall not curiously enquire ; least by roaving and uncertain conjectures, the innocent may be mistaken for the criminals. Only this, I think, is so evident, that it may be taken for granted, that since there have bin no considerable numbers of men formerly that we know of, who have openly and avowedly professed the impious tenets of Socin, *they must have lain lurking under some other outward name and profession*, watching the first and most convenient opportunity to divulge their opinions, which, for some just and weighty reasons no doubt, they thought fit for some time to stifle and conceal. I think there are scarce any among us so foolish as to imagine that, like Cadmus his offspring (though, without doubt, the old serpent hath had no small hand in this affair), these men should spring out of the ground. It is therefore beyond all doubt *that they have lain hid and disguised under the denomination of some other sect or party and profession.*¹ . . .

“ But whatsoever the causes have bin of this suddaine appearance of Socinianisme,² or whoever were the authors that have secretly and in masque-

¹ We shall find hereafter that this is just the account which the Socinians give of their own position, at the present time, in relation to the various protestant sects of America.

² See Lathbury's *History of the English Episcopacy*, chap. xxii. p. 252 ; and Russell's *History of Modern Europe*, vol. v. pp. 436, 437.

rade abetted and encouraged it — much of which lies yet in the dark — the pernicious effects of it have been and are at this day too visible. The minds of men, as we said before, throughout the nation being strangely corrupted; infidelity and scepticism universally prevailing.” He then describes the various aspects in which this prevailing apostacy was exhibited, noticing particularly those who still “professed to believe the Bible,” and even to hold “all the great mysteries of our faith contained there;” and concludes by saying, “all which are the effects of Socinianisme, and which seem to have diffused themselves among all orders and ranks of men among us, beyond the example of former times.”

Enough, perhaps, has now been said from which to form something like an adequate notion of the horrors of those evil days which ensued upon the downfall of the Reformed Catholic Church in this land, and the erection of a human system in its place.¹ To those who desire a more minute and

¹ See further *A Vindication of the Presbyteriall Government and Ministry*, by the Provincial Assembly, 1649; Judge Jenkins' account of the presbyterian acts and opinions, in his *Scourge for the Directorie and the revolting Synod*; and Nicholls' *Defence of the Church of England*, Introd. p. 63. For the general character of the preaching of those days, see Hickes' *Three Treatises, Modest Plea*, ch. vii. p. 54; Bp. Hurd, *Sermon i.* Works, vol. vi. p. 16, London, 1811; Bp. Sanderson, *Sermon ii.* p. 129; Bp. Taylor, book xv. Preface, pp. 4, 5. “Alas, my Lords,” said Bishop Hall, “I beseech you to consider what it is, that there should be in London, and the suburbs and the liberties, no fewer than fourscore congregations of several sectaries, as I have been credibly informed, instructed by

accurate description of them—which, of course, cannot even be attempted here—the sources of information are open. Certainly what has been said may at least suffice to sustain the argument of these pages; and to do more is beyond the purpose for which they are written. Further details are easy to be procured; but in this place they are not necessary. And indeed, as Doctor Nicholls has observed, “it would be infinite to relate the names, the opinions, the madnesses, the blasphemies of the sects and heresies of this time, by which the poor Church was torn in pieces; so that the name of Christianity, where these raged, was almost lost. Oh, what a ‘purity’ was now restored to the Church! This was the gospel light which was so earnestly desired! These were the godly and the edifying ministers that were so much called for, and to whose care so many of the common people would be entrusting their souls, when their lawful Pastors were thrown out of their livings! But I appeal to the annals of all ages of the Church, and to the judgment of all wise and good men, if any opinions so impious, so abominable, so

guides fit for them—cobblers, taylors, felt-makers, and such-like trash—which all are taught to spit in the face of their mother the Church of England, and defy and revile her government.” *Speech in the House of Lords*, in his *Remains*. Edwards states that there were eleven different religions in one parish in London; and mentions a family consisting of four persons, every one of whom professed a distinct form of belief. *Gangræna*, part ii.; which contains a great number of instances of the progress of individuals from schism to heresy.

accursed as these, were ever brought into the Christian world.”¹ Great plagues had indeed wasted the Church in former days, and many a scheme had been devised for her destruction; but it was reserved for this new extravagance of ‘Presbyterianism’ to engender, even while professing to oppose them, evils so enormous and so deadly, as perhaps no church and no land has ever witnessed, save the Church of England in the 17th century.

Presbyterianism was not, however, destined to maintain long the position which by treachery and rebellion it had obtained.² The principles which it had been necessary to propagate so widely before its triumph could be achieved, were soon found to be *progressive*. Nor was it likely that the fierce men, whom it had stirred up to do its work, would consent to stay their hands just when that work was accomplished. They had been taught to kill and gather spoil in the name of religion, and they had no mind to do these things only for the benefit of others; the fight which their arms had won was

¹ *Defence of the Church of England*, p. 70.

² “After all this, the peremptory reign of Presbytery, which cost this church and nation so deare, was not long lived, nor could be well established, though at first it looked so big, and grasped in the sudden even at three kingdoms. For before it was warm in its nest, or well seated in its throne, we see Independency got hold of one end of its sceptre, or quarter-staffe rather, threatening, in the right of Christ Jesus, and in the behalf of all Christian common people, to wrest it quite out of the hands of Presbytery, either by legerdemaine or maine force, unlesse it might go at least halfe with it in the spoiles of Episcopacy.” Gauden’s *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria*, book iv. chap. iii. p. 445.

over, and they were not the men to forego their share in the booty. The contest with their former masters was a short one; and Presbyterianism, already worn out,¹ gave way to *Independentism*.

(3.) We enter now upon the third period of its history. After a course of crime which, even at this distance, it is painful to contemplate, the Presbyterians, deprived of the honours which they had purchased at such fearful cost, were content to ask, as the only remedy for the now intolerable evils of the country, for “Episcopal Government and a toleration!”² The lawful governors of the Church restored once more, the impious and profane slunk back to their hiding-places, conscious that their day was over. And now Presbyterian-

¹ “’Tis true at present the herd or flock of Presbytery is not so numerous and strong as they were twenty years ago, *by the dwindling of a great part of their gang into other conventicles of separation*; some of them being since turned Anabaptists, others Independents, some Quakers, others Fifth-monarchy men; and others run themselves into such grosse absurdities, that there is scarce an heresie in Prateolus, but some branches of this *disciplinarian tree* doth embrace and shelter.” Foulis’ *History of the wicked Plots and Conspiracies of our pretended Saints*, book iii. ch. ii. p. 172 (1674).

² *Gangræna*, p. 54. So another reports, that the sectaries, worn out with the tyranny of their self-elected guides, would exclaim, “*Episcopos et tolerationem sibi satisfacturam!*” Hornii *Hist. Ecclesiast. et Politic.* p. 325. “The Presbyterians,” says one of the baffled rebels, “finding the tyde to be against them, agreed with the Bishops in many particulars, desiring only to be dispensed with in wearing the surplice, reading some parts of the Liturgy, and using some ceremonies; on which condition they promised to subject themselves to the Bishops, as Superintendents of the Church, if some ministers might be joyned with them in the act of ordination”—which they very well knew the Church had always required and appointed. See Ludlow’s *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 57.

ism, willingly accepting the toleration which it had vehemently denied to all other sects,¹ took up a new position, and appeared in another character. Henceforth it promised to be peaceable and submissive. Authority and power it had confessed itself unable either to use or preserve, even when it had the best chance of doing so. It still remained, however, to see how it would behave itself under its altered circumstances; and we come now, in the last place, to inquire into the history of its development in times of peace and quietness, when there was nothing to influence its course either in this direction or that, save its own natural and inherent properties.

And although the consideration of its earlier history may have prepared us for some such results as those which the Calvinistic and Lutheran communities had already exhibited, and has served to confirm the uniform connexion between schism

¹ Even Mr. Hallam speaks of "the remorseless and indiscriminate bigotry of Presbyterianism." Dean Swift refers to "many hundred quotations" from Presbyterian writers "against allowing any liberty of conscience,"—their objection being, "that allowing such a liberty would be to establish iniquity by law." *The Presbyterian's Plea of Merit*, vol. viii. pp. 408, 9. Edwards, whom I have so often cited, told the Parliament, that "a toleration was the grand design of the devil, and the most compendious, ready, and sure way to destroy all religion." And so warmly, whilst their power lasted, did they maintain this view, that Cromwell himself, at the dissolution of the Parliament in 1654, observed to them, "Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisie than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves so soon as the yoke was removed?" Quoted in *The Second Part of the History of Separation*, p. 94.

and heresy which their progress had so fully demonstrated, yet we could hardly, perhaps, have anticipated the startling fact, that of all the Presbyterian congregations established in England during and subsequent to the times of the rebellion, there are few, if any, at the present day which have not lapsed into the Socinian apostacy!¹ Such has been the rise, the progress, and the termination of this unhappy sect.²

¹ "The English body of the *three denominations*, as it is called, is composed of the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists. Of that portion of the latter class called *General Baptists*, a majority are acknowledged Unitarians . . . The Presbyterian churches throughout England are understood to be, with scarcely an exception, occupied by congregations of this sort. Their number was reckoned ten years ago at more than two hundred." *Unit. in Ang. Fid. Hist. Stat. præsent. brev. Expos.* apud *Encycloped. American.* vol. xii. App. p. 599. Sir Richard Philips says, "Most of the English Presbyterians, and many Independents, have joined the Unitarians;" and he adds, that "in England and Wales there are 1663 Independent congregations, and 258 Presbyterian, and that one third of them are Unitarian. It is also greatly to be feared that a large proportion of the Quakers are sinking into Deism:" the writer who quotes this is himself a Wesleyan Methodist; see *Ten Letters on the Church and Church Establishments*, by an Anglo-Canadian, *Letter* vi. pp. 43, 44. The progress throughout the Channel Islands appears, from information communicated to me, to have been very similar. The only definite fact, however, in illustration of this progress, which I am able to state, is in relation to Guernsey,—of the Socinians of which place it is said, by a very competent authority, "before they adopted the sentiments they now hold, *they formed a part of the society of Methodists.*" *Monthly Repository*, vol. iv. p. 134.

² To enter into the details of its history is manifestly beyond the scope of the present work, the general *fact* being the only proper object of our inquiry;—yet such details would be highly instructive, especially as considered in relation to that remarkable law of declension which we are here noticing. A few may be mentioned. The

VI. *Scotland* has for some time past appeared to present an exception to the rule which we are here tracing. The members of the establishment in that country have not, like their co-religionists

Dissenter quoted above, who appears as the advocate of establishments solely from his own observations of the downward progress of schism, says, "If I mistake not, at this very hour the pulpit of even the devoted and orthodox Matthew Henry is filled by a Socinian teacher." The fact is, or was, as he supposes: Henry's meeting-house at Chester is thus described by another dissenting writer: "Built for the celebrated Mr. Matthew Henry and his congregation, about the year 1700. In this chapel a copy of Mr. Henry's *Exposition of the Bible* had been placed on desks for general perusal, probably ever since its first publication. A gentleman who visited the chapel some years ago, observed that one of the volumes of the New Testament was missing, and that several leaves were torn out of another; while the *New Unitarian Version* was in the pulpit and in several of the pews." *The Manchester Socinian Controversy*, p. 122, London, 1825. The meeting-house built at Knutsford for Henry's "biographer, Mr. Tong," is also Socinian: p. 123. So of that built at Nantwich for Mr. Samuel Lawrence, "his bosom friend:" p. 124. So of the one built by Coward, "the friend of Watts and Doddridge." So of those built by Doddridge himself. These are surely significant facts. Of Doddridge the Dean of Westminster says, "Although he was himself a believer in the Trinity and the Atonement, he never seems to have considered Arian or Socinian sentiments as any bar to the admission of individuals to his house and lecture-room. In fact many young men holding sentiments of that kind were his pupils." Dean Turton *On the Text of the Bible*, p. 8. See also the Dean's *Review of the principal Dissenting Colleges in England during the last Century*. The instinctive sympathy with heresy which has always been a characteristic of sectarians, might be copiously illustrated. Thus of Baxter, who in the course of his life professed a greater variety of religious opinions than could easily be numbered, it has been noticed, that in his writings on church-government, in which the Bishops are plentifully reviled, "he hath assembled all the Arian and heretical authors that he could hear of, such as Philostorgius, Sandius, &c., and out of them quotes only the worst things, omitting what is left on record concerning the learning, piety, courage, patience, charity, and con-

in Geneva, repudiated Christianity ; they still profess to adhere to their original formularies ; and they give no countenance, as a body, to the open avowal of Socinianism. The law, therefore, which

descension of those Fathers and Martyrs . . . Contrariwise, speaking of their adversaries, whether Arians, Nestorians, Donatists, Novatians, &c., he commends them as good and well-meaning men, mistaken only in the manner of expressing themselves, applauding them for their holy and strict lives, *without any notice of their damnable errors*, though they denied the Lord that bought them." *The Second Part of the History of Separation*, p. 23 ; and see p. 113, where Baxter openly defends the Arians, and condemns St. Athanasius. So, to give a later instance, Wesley, in his *improved* Liturgy, "mutilated above 60 of the Psalms, discarded 34 others, and newly rendered many of the remainder. Of the Psalms which he has discarded, six at least *are admitted to be eminently prophetic of our Saviour* — of His incarnation, His sufferings, and His ascension ; whilst the reason assigned for their expurgation is, their being 'improper for the mouth of a Christian congregation !' But this is not all, . . . the two Creeds, the Nicene and Athanasian, are totally discarded The general character of the rejected Articles and Psalms will pretty clearly establish what has been alleged as to the nature of the opinions which Mr. Wesley and his followers maintain, or, at least, of the doctrines which they reject. The 18th Article, which pronounces, that 'eternal salvation is to be obtained only by the name of Christ ;' and the 15th, which asserts, 'that Christ alone was without sin,' are two of those which the founder of Methodism has declared to be unfit objects of a Christian's belief. Thus it appears that the Socinian is not the only sectary that would degrade the dignity of Christ." Magee *On the Atonement*, vol. i. pp. 159, 160. Both Adam Clarke and Wesley preached in Socinian 'high places ;' but the former, considering that, as he said, he "could not preach their doctrine, and was afraid to preach his own," got so far as to say, "I do not like this business, and have nearly made up my mind to have done with it." Vide *British Magazine*, no. 127, p. 660. These various circumstances are such as can scarcely fail to produce some effect upon humble and serious minds ; and they might be confirmed almost without limit. I will add only a single example of the actual progress which they are intended to illustrate. It is taken from a paper transmitted to me from Warminster, in the

has been represented as of universal application, seems in this case to fail.

Now, it must be acknowledged at once that Presbyterianism in Scotland has not hitherto, by God's mercy, assumed the form into which in so many other lands it has been developed. Let this be freely and thankfully admitted. That its present state, however, is really such as to constitute an exception to the cases already or hereafter to be considered,—this is far indeed from being true, as it will not be difficult to shew.

county of Wilts, entitled 'Memorandum relating to the *Old Meeting*, called of late years the *Unitarian Chapel*,' and supplies the dates at which the various developments in this particular community occurred:—

In the year 1687, a Presbyterian congregation occupied the meeting-house in question.

„ 1703, a new meeting-house was built, which was called the '*House of Service*.' This seems already to indicate some change.

„ 1719, Mr. Bates, the 'minister,' was openly charged with Arianism, and a secession of several members took place. This new body still exists, its present representatives occupying the '*Independent Chapel*.' In the course of 32 years, therefore, Presbyterianism had generated Arianism and Independentism.

„ 1800, Mr. Theophilus Browne, "a very clever man," had become the preacher; and

„ 1804, the meeting was called, at the suggestion of this "very clever man," '*Ædícula Monotheistica*!'

„ 1826, one Waterhouse preached there; and at the present time it is openly styled "the Unitarian Chapel."

Being in possession of other examples, forwarded to me from different parts of the country, I am able to say that this is the usual character of the progress, so far as England is concerned, from schism to heresy, from dissent to blasphemy.

And in truth, if the test which we have used so successfully thus far had failed for the first time in *this* instance, we should have had peculiar reason for surprise. It might even have been anticipated, from a comparison of its early history, that the religious system now established in Scotland would have betrayed sooner than any with which it owned a common origin its real character. The extraordinary means by which in neighbouring kingdoms the kindred systems were first erected, were confessedly exceeded and overpassed in this. "The reformation in Scotland," observes King James,—and he knew what he was saying,—“was far more disorderly than in England, Denmark, &c.; whilst the mayne affaires there were unduly carried by popular tumults, and by some fiery-spirited ministers, which having gotten the guiding of the multitude, and finding the relish of government sweet, did fancie to themselves a democratic forme of policy, wherein they were likely to be *tribuni plebis*.”¹ And during the whole of what may be called the first period of its history—from the time of Knox, namely, to the revolution of 1688—it certainly did

¹ See *A Discourse concerning Puritans*, p. 15 (1641). And the most 'liberal' writers agree in this account. "The nobility of Scotland," says a modern historian, "invited by the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the ecclesiastical revenues; hoping, if a change in religion should take place, to enrich themselves with the plunder of the Church." Russell's *History of Modern Europe*, vol. ii. p. 277. Cf. Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*, ch. iv.

not lose the impress which was thus stamped upon it from the first.¹

Its course subsequently to that era has been lately traced with much accuracy, and deserves a more minute consideration. The popular notions with respect to it appear likely to be completely revolutionised by the researches of the writer referred to. Far from being embraced, as has been commonly supposed, by an unanimous and enthusiastic people, Presbyterianism was in fact most unpopular in Scotland, upheld for a long time only by the zeal of "the trading and inferior sort," and its establishment the result, so far as any thing can be, of the merest accident. It was not until he had solicited, and failed to obtain, from the rulers of the Church in that country the support which he needed, that King William reluctantly concurred

¹ "Such a church," says Dr. Hickes of it, "I think altogether as unworthy of the name of a church, as a band of rebels in any country, who had overthrown the civil constitution of it, would be of the name of a kingdom, state, or republick; because such a pretended church is not only a variation from the Catholick Apostolick Church, but a sworn destructive confederacy against it, even the abomination of desolation in the house or kingdom of God, of which their Pastors are not Ministers, but by principle most malicious enemies; not Pastors, but wolves of the flock; to many of both which, notwithstanding, I trust that God, who can make dispensations and allowances for the greatest ignorances, mistakes, and prejudices of His frail creatures, which men cannot make, will shew mercy in the great day, according to the prayer of our Lord upon the cross, 'Father, forgive them; they know not what they do.'" Hickes, *Three Treatises*, Preface, p. cc.: and see Bramhall's *Fair Warning of Scottish Discipline*, ch. xiii. vol. ii. p. 514.

in the establishment of Presbyterianism; and “if the Scottish prelates and clergy,” says Mr. Lawson, “had followed the example of the Church of England, and recognised William as the sovereign, *the Episcopal Church would have been at this moment established in Scotland.*”¹ Here was another circumstance, then, from which we might have anticipated for the new religion in Scotland at least an equally disastrous issue as in any other land in which it had been set up. For here it was not only, as in the other cases, a human system supplanting the divine, but the change being made in spite of the indifference or opposition of the better portion of the people.

And there is accordingly quite enough, as might have been predicted from these facts,² in the present religious condition of Scotland, to shew that the evil principles, the full triumph of which, from the operation of certain causes, has been hitherto impeded in that country, are even now tending towards their natural development.

¹ See Lawson’s *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 45; Burnett, *History of his own Times*, vol. iv. p. 41, note ^f; and Russell’s *History of the Church in Scotland*, ch. xiv. vol. ii. p. 244.

² A writer who had been himself a presbyterian, says, “Many times in my younger yeares have I heard famous and auncient fathers of our church, who had seene the first beginnings thereof, affirme that our church could not consist unlesse Episcopall government was restored againe: this they spake when there was no appearance of it, and when Episcopall government was in greatest disdaine; and at that time being unacquainted with church-discipline, I thought strange to heare it.” See *The Bishop of Galloway his Defence against the Paralogie of Mr. D. Hume*, p. 140.

In an earlier period it had been declared, by one of her own sons, to be true of Scotland, as of England, that "so long as the Episcopall government stood in vigour, there was nothing but comely order in the Church; fathers honoured as fathers, ministers agreeing in pleasant unitie, without any schisme among them; singular peace betweene the king his majestie and the Church, they going together like Moses and Aaron to doe the worke of God, without grudging, anger, or division; then the Gospell flourished, and no professed papist was in the land; *but with decay of the one ensued a lamentable change of the other, which cannot be mentioned without griefe.*"¹ And the contrast here so pathetically recorded is far more striking at the present hour.

"It is much to be feared," says the excellent Bishop Skinner, "that in many parts of the kingdom the seeds of irreligion and licentiousness have been so plentifully disseminated, that unless their growth be checked by a returning sense of duty, or some powerful interposition of Providence, before they come to full maturity, *inevitable ruin must be the consequence.* Already do the presages of such fatal consequences begin to exhibit themselves. In some of the most populous districts of Scotland, where the middling and lower ranks of the people were, some years ago, exemplary in the discharge

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 133, 134.

of their religious duties, *not occasional neglect only, but a constant derision, and an avowed contempt of these duties, have now taken place. The rites and ordinances of the Gospel are exposed to every species of scorn and ridicule.* Children are wilfully withheld from the 'laver of regeneration;' and men and women 'count the blood of the covenant wherewith they are sanctified an unholy thing,' in pure despite of the Spirit of grace."¹

It is a consolation to know, in connexion with these miserable facts, which represent a state of things so similar to that already described in Germany and Switzerland, that the Apostolic Church of Scotland has not failed, in spite of feebleness and oppression, to speak its appointed word of warning and protest. After noticing a certain theological teaching, and its unhappy effects, the writer just quoted adds, "In the midst of all this confusion, this melancholy departure from Primitive Truth and Order, we of the Episcopal Communion have the credit and comfort of reflecting, that nothing has been said or done on our part to promote or encourage such wild deviation from the paths of true religion, the ways of unity, peace, and love, which our blessed Redeemer marked out for all His faithful followers."² While, on the other hand,

¹ Bishop Skinner (of Aberdeen), *Primitive Truth and Order vindicated*, Introduction, pp. 12, 13.

² "In Scotland no member of the Church has fallen off to Romanism or any of the heresies which have distracted it; in Edin-

“Such as I have now described it,” he says, reverting to the general condition of the people, “is evidently the situation of the land in which we live, with respect to the religious character *of a great majority of its inhabitants*; very much resembling the state of things in the Jewish Church at the time of our Saviour’s first coming in the flesh, when the true religion was either totally set aside by the infidelity of the Sadducees, or sadly corrupted by the vile hypocrisy of self-conceited Pharisees.”¹

To those who are familiar with the professions and the external character of the earlier presbyterians, and who have been accustomed, as most of us have, to regard Scotland as a land in which the ordinances of religion, mutilated and earth-stained as they were, were honoured with at least outward reverence, the present state of that country must be a significant and impressive fact.² Profaneness

burgh alone, the Romanists boast of 100 converts from Presbyterianism yearly.” Dr. Pusey’s *Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*, p. 221, note 2; 4th edition.

¹ *Ubi supra*, p. 18.

² And one admitted even by the parties who are most interested to conceal it. In a sermon on “The necessity of a Revival of Religion,” by Mr. James Burns, a presbyterian preacher of Brechin, that writer says, “It may be proper and useful to shew . . . what need there is of a revival of religion among us. And in general it may be observed, *that there is such an appearance of indifference or deadness in spiritual concerns, that the need of a revival is very evident.* The marks of this indifference or deadness *are too plain and numerous* to be mistaken by any;” and then he goes on to specify some of them; as, amongst others, “the neglect of the worship of God in families, which indeed is, alas! very common among us,” and, as he adds, “is a striking proof of the need of a revival.”

with regard to holy places and things was, indeed, always one of the characteristics of the religious system there established; but it seems latterward to have reached a climax. Desecration of churches and of sacred days is now carried to an extent which is almost incredible even to those who, like ourselves, are not altogether unacquainted with some of its forms. Even their own advocates are constrained to bear witness against this evil. Thus one of their more eminent preachers, speaking somewhat tenderly of the extreme irreverence of their so-called "reformers," who taught the people to enter God's holy house with their hats on, and the like, says, there is no need of any such suggestions now, because "there is little risk of there being generated too deep or hallowed a feeling for the house of prayer. *The whole current runs in an opposite direction.*" The same writer "earnestly entreats" these professing Christians "to enter the Sanctuary *with at least the respect with which they would enter a private house*"—it seems they need the admonition; and, after more of the same kind,

See *The Scottish Christian Herald*, vol. ii. p. 728. We are told, indeed, by another, that "in one region of Scotland we have the great happiness of exhibiting a spiritual work, *in the Revival form*, steadily going forward at the present hour, which ought to stimulate the prayers, &c." *History of Revivals of Religion*, Preface, p. 2. The narrator seems jealous of the American doings in this way, of which we shall have to speak presently, and the effects of which in that distracted country will not diminish our apprehensions as to the results of the same "spiritual work" said to be "steadily going forward" in Scotland.

adds, as softly as might be, "many admit and deplore the practice of too many Scottish Christians in this matter."¹ And as in their external demeanour, so in their esoteric principles, are these men in strict agreement with the worst and most wilful of their predecessors. "It is a very melancholy fact," says the presbyterian already quoted, "that too many of the Church" (establishment) "people of Scotland direct their minds to the days preceding and during the Covenant for the true character and sentiments of their church." Nor are the tokens of this sympathy with the bold and unscrupulous men of that evil age concealed from us. "It is curious," observes Mr. Lawson, "that in many parts of Scotland the people to this day *have a very great objection to hear the Lord's Prayer said, or the Scriptures read, in public*, alleging that they can do so at home themselves! We need not be surprised," he adds, "at this folly, to say the least, on the part of an illiterate peasantry, when we find a Presbyterian minister of great repute² gravely maintaining that the Lord's Prayer is a Jewish and not a Christian Prayer, and cannot with propriety be introduced into Christian worship"!³ This piece of criticism serves again to remind us of the modern German divines.

¹ Cumming's *Preface to John Knox's Liturgy*, pp. 6, 12, 13.

² He refers to *Sermons* by Andrew Thompson, D.D., Minister of St. George's Church, Edinburgh.

³ Lawson, p. 51. Both the use of the Lord's Prayer, and the

Further illustrations of this coincidence of thought and language might be added; but we have only space here for one other fact in relation to the working of the Genevan system in Scotland; it is this,—that whereas in other countries the separated and schismatical bodies are altogether diverse, both in doctrine and discipline, from the Church with which they refuse to dwell, in Scotland they are as much ‘presbyterians’ after their separation as they were before. And it is an extraordinary fact, that although the large majority of the people are still presbyterians, “the Establishment cannot claim much more than *one third* of the population as belonging or attached to its communion, while the great mass of the Presbyterian Dissenters, who have emanated from its own bosom, are now its avowed and determined enemies. There is not a country in Europe which

public reading of the Scriptures, incredible as it appears, were strongly protested against by the first presbyterians. See Lawson, chap. vi. p. 96. An earlier writer tells us, that “no sooner had the Presbyterians excluded the Bishops, and their Directory the Liturgy, but the Lord’s Prayer is also exploded as a thing of no use either for matter or form; for the men of that age thought it not spiritual enough for such overgrown Christians as they were, but adapted only to the nonage of the first disciples. Nor was it sufficient to disuse it, but they poured out all the contempt they could upon it, both from their pulpits and in the press. . . . And this antichristian practice prevailed so far, that the people generally refused to teach it to their children; some gave God thanks that they had forgotten it; and if any sober clergyman did conclude his own prayer with it, a great part of his auditory would presently depart out of church, as if it were impossible for them to be edified by such a preacher as had no better gift of prayer.” *The Second Part of the History of Separation*, p. 34.

abounds more with sectaries and dissenters *from the Establishment of its own alleged choice* than Scotland.”¹

It is not to Scotland, then, that we shall be referred any longer for an example of the felicitous working of Calvin’s ecclesiastical scheme.² Already there are symptoms, too plain to be overlooked, of the results to which that scheme is surely tending. “Already do the presages,” as Bishop Skinner speaks, “begin to exhibit themselves.” And if it be said, that Socinianism is still discouraged,³ we cannot forget, thankful as we are

¹ Lawson, pp. 315, 316. “Arnot mentions, in the year 1779, that ‘in Scotland there are few towns, whether of importance or insignificant, whether populous or otherwise, where there are not congregations of sectaries.’ If this writer had witnessed the state of Scotland at the present day, his observations could not have been more accurate.” *Ibid.* And the remarkable circumstance in all this is, that “the country is filled with numerous and powerful sects, *of their own polity and principles*, who are their deadliest opponents.” *Id.* pp. 169, 170.

² At the very first setting up of presbyterianism in Scotland, we are told of “the revolt of many leading Presbyters to Independency; their supplanting and defaming each other; the emulations and contests among themselves,—as that between Melvill and Buchanan at the first planting of presbytery in Scotland, which was so great, that the one set up a presbytery at St. Andrews, the other at Coupar, in opposition to each other!” See *No Protestant but the Dissenters’ Plot*, p. 159.

³ There is, however, a nucleus to which future accretions of error may hereafter be attached. “In Scotland there are Unitarian Chapels in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other principal places. Among the leading periodical publications devoted to the cause in Great Britain is the *Christian Pioneer* in Glasgow. There is a Scottish Unitarian Association lately formed. . . . The principal supply of Ministers is from Manchester College, at York; others come from the Scotch Universities, and from that of Dublin.” *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. xii. App. p. 599.

to acknowledge the fact, that this was the case at Geneva too, and that for a whole century after its poison had begun to work in secret.¹ As late as the year 1632, men convicted of heresy were *put to death* in that city for their error;² nay, in 1696, we find its rulers taking severe notice of even the *tendencies* to Socinianism³ which they were able to detect;—yet within a few years Socinianism was almost the only form of religion at Geneva! And how serious does this reflection become, when we turn our attention to the actual state of Scotland at this very hour.⁴ That country has no longer even the semblance of unity and strength which Geneva, in spite of internal disease, so long boasted. The Establishment, weakened already by innumerable schisms, is now at last divided against itself, and fallen asunder into two parts. And that neither of these portions has yet arrived at its *ultimate*

¹ Grégoire, *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*, p. 4. And this is true of others also. “Il est constant que la plupart des Arminiens sont devenus Sociniens sans faire ouvertement profession de cette hérésie.” *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Théologie, tome iii. p. 514.

² Vide Spon, *Histoire de Genève*, tome ii. p. 231.

³ *Fragmens Biographiques et Historiques sur Genève, extraits des Registres Originaux du Conseil d'Etat de la République de Genève*, p. 213 (Genève, 1815).

⁴ “It may be doubted whether many of the laity of that country, and especially whether the leading schools of education, have not been all along gradually verging towards something like Genevan profaneness. A little time will probably shew: certainly there are symptoms in Scotland at this moment, which would make an orthodox Englishman more than ever unwilling to part with that outwork of Apostolic Faith, which England, under circumstances in many respects peculiarly untoward, has hitherto found in the Apostolical Commission of her Clergy.” *Tracts for the Times*, no. 57.

condition, we need not attempt to prove, because the members of both are themselves eager to assert it. Each declares vehemently of the other, that it cannot long maintain its present existence; one has already fallen from its original position, and consented to fraternise openly with all the heterogeneous forms of schism, adopting, and even surpassing in some cases, its most lawless and extravagant phraseology; and therefore, when we profess our belief that we have still to see the final development of Scottish Presbyterianism, we are, in fact, only repeating the language and echoing the predictions of its own most zealous advocates.¹

¹ No attempt has been made here to trace the gradual declension of doctrine which took place in Scotland during the 18th century, not for want of materials, but because such an attempt would carry us far beyond the proposed limits of this volume. A few references may, however, be added. The first direct proof that I know of, is the process against Professor Simson, of Glasgow, for teaching heretical doctrine in the Divinity class, begun in the year 1717, and visited with very slight censure by the ecclesiastical authorities. *The Marrow Controversy*, in 1720-1-2, when the Assembly did appear as impugners, not of false doctrine, but of the orthodox faith, is another symptom of what was going on. An account of it may be found in *Boston's Memoirs*, and the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* itself is worthy to be studied. The writings of the two Erskines, and those of Witherspoon, afford information as to the downward progress going on at their respective dates. About 1780 the writings of Taylor of Norwich became very popular in the West of Scotland; and a few years later Dr. M'Gill, of Ayr, published a work of a similar nature, and of so heretical a character that he was compelled to recant some of its contents. But it is, perhaps, inexpedient to enter into details,—conclusive as their evidence would undoubtedly be as to the tendencies of the Scotch system,—because to pursue them with accuracy would require an entire volume.

VII. In extending our inquiry from Scotland to *Ireland*, we are not, in fact, losing sight of the development of the religious system in the former country, because it is its derivatives in the latter which become the subject of our investigation. The growth, in the direction of error, of these offshoots of Scottish Presbyterianism appears to have been rapid and spontaneous, unchecked, as it seems, by any of the influences which have exercised hitherto so salutary a power over the Establishment in Scotland. "In the Presbyterian churches of the North of Ireland," says one writer, "a vehement controversy has been carried on within the last two or three years, the event of which is understood to have been to detach about forty churches from the body of that communion, and unite them, *as professed Unitarians*, into a society of their own, consisting of several presbyteries. There are also congregations of this character in Dublin,¹ and in other southern cities of the kingdom."²

And as a proof that heresy was not confined to the ranks of those who have thus openly avowed their impiety, and set up a new society, it is only

¹ There was a time when such assemblies would not venture to congregate there. "The Socinians," says Leslie, "have now for a long time had an open meeting-house in Cutlers' hall, in London; their preacher one Emlin, formerly a dissenting preacher in Dublin, but forced to fly out of Ireland for his open and notorious Socinianism." *On the Socinian Controversy*, Dialog. vi. p. 40.

² *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. xii. Appendix, p. 599.

necessary to refer to what has taken place amongst those with whom they formerly associated. In the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster, for example, in spite of a strong effort and some very strong language too, a professed Arian has been maintained, after long deliberation, in his connexion with that body. The reasons assigned for this compromise with the worst form of heresy were, that "as the removal of their clerk" (who was the guilty person) "from office on this account might be construed into persecution for the sake of opinion, . . . they do not consider it expedient to move him from it!"¹ And it is said, that it was not until the interference of the civil government, of which they are stipendiaries, began to be feared, that the Ulster Presbyterians discontinued the employment of Socinian officers.²

This declension of Irish Presbyterianism is, however, as respects its origin, to be referred to a much earlier date. It was in the year 1721 that the secession of the Remonstrants, or Socinians, took place. About the middle of the century, eight congregations withdrew, of which two still exist in Belfast, the others being in adjoining coun-

¹ *Monthly Repository*, vol. i. p. 712 (1827).

² *Ibid.* p. 805. The English Socinians seem to look for the spread of their impiety in Ireland, p. 879; but I am informed that the children of many of the Arians of the North of Ireland have been received into the Church. Some years ago a large number of the wealthier inhabitants of Belfast are said to have been Arians.

ties. And it is to be noticed of the members of these congregations, that they did not in the outset avow themselves to be Socinians, but separated on the ground of non-subscription to the *Westminster Confession of Faith*.¹ In consequence of the Synod having afterwards relaxed in some measure the rule which required a *bonâ fide* subscription to that Formulary on the part of all candidates for the ministry, it is supposed that persons were admitted from time to time unsound on other points of the Faith besides those which the Presbyterian theology rejects; and these persons gradually disseminating their heretical opinions, formed a party of considerable influence. This state of things continued for a time, until the Synod saw the necessity of applying a test to prove the orthodoxy of its members, and at the same time required subscription to the Confession of Faith on the part of all who should aspire to be teachers of Presbyterianism. The application of this test revealed at once the lurking evil which it was designed to remedy. No fewer than seventeen ‘ministers’ *remonstrated* against the new resolutions, and ultimately withdrew altogether from the communion of the Synod, under the name of the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster. They have since been joined by others, though I am not aware to what extent, and

¹ See the *Minutes* of the Synod; and, for the connexion between the Synods of Ulster and Munster, *Monthly Repository*, vol. ii. p. 599.

are now, as it is scarcely necessary to say, avowed Socinians.

VIII. Returning again from the islands of our own empire to the countries of continental Europe, the religious state of the *Netherlands* becomes the next subject of our inquiry. And in this case there is no need to pursue it so far as to our own times, because in Holland the development of the reformed doctrines reached long since its ultimate form. A very few references to its past history will suffice in proof of this.

The period of the famous schism of the “Remonstrants” from the Synod of Dort is that to which I shall first refer.¹ That the rigorous decrees of that Synod were wholly ineffectual to stay the progress of heresy is now matter of history,² and was soon evidenced by the torrent of false and conflicting opinions which began to prevail, and continued to spread, throughout almost all the United Provinces during the seventeenth century. The character of the “Remonstrant” or Arminian theology, on the other hand, though not fully defined at the time when its professors first came into collision with the assertors of the Genevan

¹ Though it is quite certain that heretical opinions had spread far and wide long before the time of that Synod. See Weismann, *secul. xvii. tom. ii. p. 1301* ; and the *History of Poland*, in the *Universal History*, vol. xii. p. 440, note A ; from which it appears to have spread in Holland even before it reached Poland.

² See the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, art. *Sociniens*.

doctrine of Predestination, appears to have deserved the severe judgment which from the first was pronounced upon it. The "Reformed" theologians of the Academy of Leyden, by whom the "Censure" upon the Remonstrants was composed, do not hesitate, even at that date, to connect these latter with the Socinians,¹ and to justify the heavy charge by a reference to their own writings. And the Remonstrants in their reply, which is much to be noticed, retort upon the Calvinistic divines, as they themselves bitterly complain, the charge "not only of errors, but of heresies and blasphemies."² It is this circumstance which reveals very evidently the real condition of all the various schools of disputants—the circumstance, namely, that the charge of impiety which was urged by one class of these religionists was always met by the antagonist party with this retort, that their accusers were themselves involved in doctrinal errors at least equally glaring, and that their own written statements proved it.³

The controversy between the learned Grotius and Sibrandus, and the later writings of Rivetus,

¹ *Censur. in Remonstrant. Synodo de Dort*, cap. xxi. ad finem. Cf. N. Vedelius, *De Arcanis Arminianismi*, lib. i. cap. i. p. 7.

² *Censura*, Præfat.

³ Thus the Remonstrants, alluding to the monstrous lengths to which the Gomarists and others carried their notions on the doctrine of Predestination, asserted, "that the Calvinists made God the author of sin." *Apolog. Contra Censuram*, Examen, cap. vi.: and see on this subject a writing of the famous peace-maker John Dury, entitled *A Discourse tending to Peace Ecclesiastick*, p. 3 (1641).

afford a striking illustration of this. Sibrandus having censured severely the Dutch authorities for their appointment of Conrad Vorstius to the professorship formerly held by Arminius, Grotius tells him, that his censure was only the expression of the malice which he felt towards them on account of the contempt which they had evinced for his own false opinions. The famous jurist adds,—and his words are cited here as important testimony to the general fact which we are tracing,—“Why do you not turn your attention to the province of Friesland, *which is indeed full of heretics*, who openly profess their opinions;”—whereas Vorstius had denied those with which he was charged. And he gives similar evidence with respect to the progress of heresy in other parts.¹

The history of Vorstius supplies additional proof of the truth about which so much has already been said,—that the modern system of religion had never the power to contend against, even when detected, the principles of evil, upon the tacit recognition of which they had themselves been originally founded.² It does not seem diffi-

¹ H. Grotii *Ordin. Holland. et Westfrisiæ Pietas*, pp. 8, 23, and 123. The dying confession of Vorst, in which he avowed his error, is given by Gerard Brandt, *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, vol. iv. p. 420.

² “Væ Belgio a petulantia ingeniorum!” said Melancthon, who seems to have discerned that all the barriers by which the overflowings of error must be restrained, were already removed in his day. Weismann admits (tom. ii. p. 106), that the results have proved the truth of his prophecy. Huber calls attention to this circumstance, in

cult to determine whether the real opinions of Vorstius were generally known, as was asserted, at the time of his appointment by the states. On the one hand, indeed, Grotius speaks of him as a divine of great reputation, and much approved as a writer against the Jesuits, and not even suspected by those who knew him;¹ but, on the other, the theologians of the Synod of Dort say expressly, that he was “for many years justly suspected of Socinianism;”² and D'Ewes reports, that his election to the divinity-chair was emphatically condemned at the time in England, and he himself branded as “a blasphemmer.”³ Yet, as Rivetus warmly complains, he was appointed without any protest. Sibrandus adds, speaking of the beginnings of Socinianism in Holland, that all the churches in Germany, France, and Britain, looked on with amazement, and those of the Low Countries *bewailed their own condition*; that none, however, stirred hand or foot to resist what was com-

relation to the history of religion in Holland, “que depuis la Réformation il n'a jamais été le même plus long tems que l'espace de trente ans;” which will be admitted by most men to be a conclusive fact as to the true nature of that mutable theology. See the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tome xxiv. p. 181.

¹ *Ordin. Holland. et Westfrisiæ Pietas*, p. 9.

² *Act. Synod. Dordrecht. Præfat. ad Ecclesias*. Cf. *Biographie Universelle*, art. C. Vorst.

³ The remonstrance against his appointment was made by King James, who added, “that if they did not in time prevent the growing of that pestilential sect, it would in the issue prove the utter ruin of their flourishing commonwealth.” See D'Ewes' *Primitive Practice for Preserving Truth*, § 3.

ing on, and even when some offered warning and counsel, it was rejected.¹

By the time of Bossuet, towards the close of the same century, we find it admitted even by the protestant Jurieu: "At this day every place is full of these '*Indifferentists*;' and in these provinces especially,² the Socinians and Remonstrants are of that class by profession, and thousands of others by inclination."³

In describing their condition at a still later period, I avail myself of the unsuspecting testi-

¹ *Respons. ad Pietatem Hugonis Grotii*, p. 28. "Accuso illos," says this writer, speaking of Vorst, "qui Consulibus et Curatoribus suaserunt, ut hunc hominem vocarent." p. 22. It does not appear, however, that any body was at all moved by such accusations. "The states of Holland and West Friesland"—the words refer to the year 1653—"have published a proclamation against the meeting together of the Socinians and their teachers; as also against the printing and selling of Socinian books, upon great penalties." Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 508: yet two years later, and in spite of continued vigilance upon the part of the magistrates, they are said to "very much increase." *Id.* vol. iii. p. 50; and again, in the same year, "the sect of Socinianism bears great sway in the Province of Holland, and is assented to by most there." p. 51. Another writer, who dates from the Hague, about 40 years earlier, says, "We have under the press many answers to Vorstius his *Apologies*, which come forth so much the more slowly, because in Holland *inhibitions are made to write against him*, but for him free liberty and permission is granted." Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 340.

² "Qui enim exiguam cognitionem rerum præsentium habent, non ignorant celeberrimas Belgicas Ecclesias his Socini furoribus conturbari." Lubbert. *De Jesu Christo Servatore, contra Socinum*, Præfat. So Grotius of Flanders, "de qua vere dici potest, quod de Græcia olim; periisse eam libertate immodica et licentia concionum." *Ordin. Holland. &c.* p. 123. So Pluquet of the Flemings; *Dictionnaire*, tome i. pp. 78, 79.

³ Quoted in the *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, 6^{ème} Avertissement, tome iv. pp. 510-11. Cf. Sibrand. *Resp.* p. 20.

mony of Mr. Candlish, a Scotch Presbyterian teacher of our own day.

“The four Protestant denominations of Holland,” he says, “are Presbyterian in their form of Church-government. They differ in their standards of doctrine, approaching more or less near to the sound system of evangelical truth, but all *originally* holding the fundamental and essential articles of the Christian faith. It is said, that in all of them there has been a great departure from the orthodoxy of their creeds, and a great decline of spiritual life, especially in the national (‘reformed’) Church. The taint of liberal and latitudinarian principles has extensively pervaded the ministers of that community.” The explanation of this change which the writer assumes to be the true one, is as follows: “The political agitation of men’s minds in these eventful times, the contagion of liberal opinions on religion spreading from Germany and France, and other agencies and influences, which in the inscrutable providence of God seem to have been permitted for a season to spread a wide and wasting leaven of spiritual apathy and unbelief throughout almost the whole of the Protestant Churches,—these, and similar facts and observations, may go far to account for any hiding of the Lord’s countenance, and any withdrawing of the Lord’s spirit, which His professing people or their pastors may have experienced in Holland. But however this may be, [he seems to have sus-

pected that this would hardly be accepted as a sufficient account of the matter], it is certain that there has been in the Dutch Church a grievous declension and departure from her first faith and her first love. Laxity in doctrinal views has for a considerable time prevailed among a large proportion of the clergy, and even the standard of orthodoxy has been modified. . . . The sentiments of many of the ministers are tainted with the Arminian and Socinian heresies, and with the neological spirit of scepticism.”¹

¹ See *The Scottish Christian Herald*, vol. iii. pp. 199, 200 (1838). Nor is the case at all otherwise in modern Belgium. “To oppose the wealth, the numbers, and the power, which Popery arrays on its side, there is but a small and apparently insignificant band of the devoted servants of Christ. There are eight French Protestant Ministers, paid by the State, who afford religious instruction to thirteen different congregations; but of these Ministers”—and then comes the same uniform tale—“there are only four who know the truth; the rest, either Rationalists or Socinians, hate it with their whole heart.” *The Scottish Christian Herald*, vol. iii. p. 504: 2d series. So in Transylvania, Socinianism followed so fast upon the heels of the new discipline, that within twenty years of its establishment, “some hundreds of congregations were infected.” Fr. Cheynell’s *Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianisme*, ch. ii. p. 22: and now we are told that “the number of Unitarians in Transylvania and Hungary in 1827 is stated to be between 40 and 50,000.” *Monthly Repository*, vol. i. p. 243. Of the Waldenses, again, the same authority records the saying of one of their own preachers, that “he did not think that there was an essential difference between the Unitarians and the Vaudois.” vol. i. p. 876; and see p. 808. “M. Limborch soutient,” says another, “que les Albigéois étoient dans la plupart des erreurs des Manichéens. Pour les Vaudois, notre auteur conclut des erreurs qu’on leur importe, qu’ils ressembloient plus à ces Chrétiens d’aujourd’hui qu’on appelle *Mennonites*, qu’à aucune autre société Chrétienne.” *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tome xxiii. p. 407. See also Maitland’s *Albigenses and Waldenses*, § 12.

IX. Of the development of the new systems in *Sweden* and *Denmark*, I have hitherto found little opportunity for collecting any accurate account. In those countries a *quasi* Episcopate has indeed been maintained; but even if the form of their ecclesiastical polity had been much less dissimilar to the apostolic type than it is,¹ the history of its origin would have taught us to apprehend the most unfavourable results.² The event, I believe, has fully justified such an apprehension.

“The doctrines of Socinianism,” we are told, “are no longer regarded as strange in Sweden; and they are admired there, as a proof of the elevation of thought at which the human mind can arrive.”³ The Catechisms, one of the surest tokens of a people’s faith, are said to change frequently, and to suppress fundamental truths which even the Confession of Augsburg contained. The sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist are commonly

¹ “En effet les principes de Luther sont incompatibles avec cet ordre hiérarchique; et l’épiscopat de Suède et de Danemarck est essentiellement différent de celui d’Angleterre.” Mœhler, *La Symbolique*, § 51. tome ii. p. 146. The authors of these countries appear indeed to speak of the Episcopate in much the same language as those of France and Geneva: “Ab aristocratia Episcopali in Pontificalem despotismum regimen Ecclesiæ transiit.” Eric. Gustav. Geyer. *Dissert. Academ. Upsal.* Præside E. M. Fant. (1806.) Cf. Benzeli *Dissert. de Can. Apost.* tom. i. pp. 138 et seq.: and see also Münter *De Schola Antiochena*.

² Vide Maimbourg, ann. 1523; and Sleidan, lib. viii. ann. 1531.

³ *Mémorial Catholique*, tom. vi. pp. 130, 131; *De l’Etat Religieux de la Suède*. These notices of Sweden are taken from a journal published at Strasbourg, and entitled *Der Katholik, eine religiöse Zeitschrift zur Belehrung und Warnung*.

regarded as mere forms ; the first being often indefinitely postponed from careless indifference, the result of doctrinal error.

A writer at Stockholm, in the year 1819, says : “ The efforts of the Lutheran doctors of Sweden to refute Socinianism shew plainly enough that its impious doctrines are widely spread in that country. But there is nothing more feeble than the arguments which men, reasoning upon the principles of the reformed doctrine, are compelled to make use of in controversy with the Socinians. They accuse them of interpreting according to their own caprice, against the testimony of past ages, various texts of Scripture, and of wresting them arbitrarily to their own sense. The Socinians are not much embarrassed in furnishing a reply.”¹ “ The edicts which condemn the Socinians,” says Pluquet, speaking in general terms of the impossibility of a solid refutation of heresy by a Lutheran divine,—“ are no condemnation of their *principles*.”² And so long as these are identical, as they evidently are, with those of the first “ reformers,” those heretics will

¹ *Chronique Religieuse*, tome ii. p. 495. Their sermons are said commonly to exclude all doctrinal questions ; upon which characteristic of their teaching it is well observed, “ on peut juger de ce qu’est devenue la croyance, par le silence presque général des prédicateurs sur les dogmes, et le discrédit dans lequel sont tombés les livres symboliques, les confessions de foi ; dont l’adoption obligatoire heurtait directement le grand principe de la réforme, de ne reconnaître aucune autorité infaillible, et d’interpréter la Bible à sa manière.” *Ibid.* pp. 277, 8.

² *Biographie Universelle*, art. *F. Socin*.

not be overcome by such antagonists as they are likely to meet with amongst Protestants, whether in Sweden or elsewhere.¹

X. Of the state of *Prussia*, in relation to Rationalism and the other forms of error which have been generated during the last three centuries, something was said under the head of Germany; and a few words in addition may now suffice. "We have all been engaged in free inquiry for upwards of fifty years," says a writer from that country, whose testimony is the less liable to suspicion because he himself appears to favour the Rationalists,—“and we have now few amongst us who conform exactly to our own *nominal creeds*.”²

¹ It may be added, that a modern, and apparently an ultra-protestant traveller, has said, "As regards the influence of religion on morals and conduct in private life, I conceive the Reformation has not worked beneficially in Sweden . . . the Reformation, as far as regards the moral condition of the Swedish people, has done harm rather than good." Laing's *Tour in Sweden in 1838*, chap. iv. pp. 124, 5.

² Even Mosheim, speaking of the gradual declension of the Lutheran symbolical writings, says, "hence arose that unbounded liberty, which is at this day enjoyed by all who are not invested with the character of public teachers (and not by them only), of dissenting from the decisions of these symbols or creeds, and of declaring this dissent in the manner they judge most expedient. The case was very different in former times. Whoever ventured to oppose any of the received doctrines of the Church, or to spread new religious opinions among the people, was called before the high powers to give an account of his conduct, and very rarely escaped without suffering in his fortune or reputation, unless he renounced his innovations. But the teachers of novel doctrines had nothing to apprehend, when, towards the conclusion of this century—the

It is indeed impossible in Prussia, where, since the union of the Lutherans with the other Reformed Churches, *we no longer know what creed we profess*.¹ Here, every one who thinks on the subject has his own private opinion; and it would be impossible to say where rational Christianity begins, or where it ends. Every one has formed his individual conclusion as to the essentials of Christianity, and as to what *is* essential."² And, as we have seen elsewhere, each individual Lutheran asserts his own proper right to do this, as an inalienable portion of the inheritance which was bequeathed to him by the founder of the Protestant religion.

"The miracles of our Lord," says a very different writer, speaking of the same facts, "are denied to this day by some of the *Professors* in

17th—the Lutheran churches adopted that leading maxim of the Arminians,—that a man may think what he likes, if he leads a moral life." *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. v. pp. 294, 5. Compare the account given by Weismann of the general state of the Reformed communities in the same century; tom. ii. p. 1116.

¹ "Enfin les protestans ne savent pas même dire qu'elle est leur religion; ils n'ont ni dogme, ni morale, ni culte commun: chacun croit et pratique ce qu'il veut; il rejette aujourd'hui ce qu'il avoit admis la veille, et n'en demeure pas moins toujours protestant! Système commode, il est vrai, mais qui n'est pas très propre à unir les esprits, à maintenir la paix parmi les hommes, à former enfin une véritable société." *Mémorial Catholique*, tome ii. p. 122.

² Letter from Berlin to the Editor of the *Revue Protestante*, dated 1 April, 1830; quoted in *Monthly Magazine*, vol. iv. p. 431: see *Voyage en Allemagne et en Suède*, par J. P. Catteau, tome ii. ch. xlvii. p. 82; and *Statistique Ecclésiastique des Etats Prussiens*, tome ii. p. 54, from which it appears that the Anabaptists, once so numerous, have been in a great measure absorbed into the other sects.

Prussia." And again: "They (in Prussia) have but lately recovered Christianity; rather, Christianity and Infidelity in its extremest form of Pantheism *are still struggling for the mastery in the minds of their very teachers.*"¹

XI. In *Russia*, that we may consider the progress of the new doctrines under every variety of outward circumstance, the same startling phenomenon is observed. "The Lutherans and Calvinists" of that country, we are told, "*are now really no better, the majority of them, than infidels.*"²

"The English," says another grave and learned writer of the same nation, charitably lamenting the sympathy which they too often manifest towards these fallen Christians,—"*the English (in Russia) will go any where—to the Calvinists, for instance, who generally deny or doubt about the Trinity, and the Divinity of Christ, and who really have no worship, neither Priest, Altar, Liturgy, Consecration, nor Sacraments.*"³

Once more. "The English will go to the tem-

¹ See *A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, by Dr. Pusey, pp. 123, 126. The Abbé Grégoire says, "en Prusse les Sociniens même ont obtenu une existence légale;" *Histoire des Sectes*, tom. iii. p. 363. I am not aware what is meant by 'une existence légale,' unless it be that they are paid by the State,—which seems hardly possible, even in Prussia.

² See the Count Pratasoff, quoted in Palmer's *Illustrations of the Latitudinarian Development of the original Calvinistic Community*, &c., p. 96.

³ The historian Mouravieff, in Palmer, p. 96.

ples of the Lutherans, or even of the Calvinists,—and indeed do go there freely; whereas I should just as soon think,” says an eminent Russian, “of going to pray with the Mohammedans as with men who have no fixed principle of belief, and most of whom, if I am rightly informed (speaking of the Calvinists), now deny the Divinity of our Saviour, or regard it as *a sort of open question!*”¹ Such have been the results in this country also of what is still commonly called the “*reformation*,”—such the fatal consequences of substituting a human invention in the place of the ordinance of God.²

¹ Vide Palmer, p. 111.

² It is worthy of notice, too, that the same law appears to have marked the course of the various *native* sects of Russia. Grégoire says of the sect of the *Doukhoborts*, that their separation from the national church turned wholly upon a point of ecclesiastical discipline, and they seem to have reached a wonderful state. Tzschirner, as the Abbé quotes him, says they have rejected the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. They too, like our brethren at home, are *puritans*; see the *Histoire des Sectes*, tome iv. pp. 178, 180. The same writer refers to Jules Klaproth for an account of a community of persons in the range of the Caucasus, who have also discarded the doctrine of the Trinity, and of whom a large number have altogether quitted Christianity for Judaism,—this is another extreme, tome iii. p. 351,—with which compare the account of the *Seleznevtshini*, who have also become Jews, in Pinkerton’s *Greek Church*, Appendix, p. 307. Although almost all the schismatics, or *Raskolniks*, of Russia, dissented originally on the same ground, they are said to be now divided into 30 or 40 different sects; King *On the Greek Church*, p. 439, note: and another writer, himself a Russian, tells us that those who have embraced *Popoftshinism*, or Presbyterianism, “have divided, according to their individual peculiarities of opinion, into a number of sects, mutually hostile to each other”—a fact already noticed in speaking of the same class of religionists in Scotland: see Mouravieff’s *History of the Russian Church*, chap. xiv. p. 251, English translation.

XII. In every climate, the warm regions of the south as well as the inclement latitudes of the north, the character of the religious scheme which we are considering is one and the same. Plant it where you will, in this soil or that, under favourable circumstances or unfavourable, the result is uniform,—its fruit is *always* poison. “The Protestant religion” in *Texas*, says a Texan writer, “consists of negatives. Our creed (the Protestant) sits upon us as light as summer air. It is of a most plastic nature, *suffering itself to be moulded into any form or shape*. There is but one simple point in it which can be considered as unalterable, and in which we all agree: it is, *to protest*. Hence comes our name; but we are now divided into so many petty schisms and parties, that the whole is well nigh reduced to an impalpable powder, *having lost all the original leaven and savour*.”

The writer proceeds to institute a comparison between the morality of Protestants in this remote part of the world and of their Roman Catholic neighbours; and in this respect he claims on behalf of the former religionists a decided superiority. The fact may possibly be as he states it; even heathen strictness has before now rebuked the laxity of professing Christians. He is also anxious to say a word in defence of their creed, “plastic” as it has unfortunately proved to be. “Think not,” he says, “that we deny the *necessary articles* which constitute the basis of all religions;” and then he

enumerates these fundamental tenets of the "Protestant religion,"—"such as, the existence of a Supreme Being, the spirituality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments. We hold fast that indispensable substratum, without which not even civil government could be maintained." Texan Protestantism seems, therefore, to be simply Deism. A late traveller says that he found what he calls "these loose opinions" "universally disseminated throughout Texas;" and adds some curious particulars from his own observation.¹

XIII. The next country of whose present religious condition some account shall now, in the last place, be given, is the *United States* of America. And in this concluding case it may be expedient, for obvious reasons, to enter rather more into detail than in some of those which have been already noticed.

It is, indeed, only at a disadvantage that such a topic can be handled at all in these pages. Introduced merely as the foundation of a subsidiary argument, without system or method, and left to tell their own tale, the facts which are here collected, strange and startling as they undoubtedly are, cannot but lose much of their impressiveness from the very mode in which they are adduced. Had it been possible in this place, as it would cer-

¹ See N. D. Maillard's *History of the Republic of Texas*, pp. 215-18.

tainly have been most useful, to trace minutely their sequence and mutual relation; had there been space to examine accurately their history, and to connect them in every case with the principles of which they are the expression and result,—then, perhaps, it is not too much to say, that this extraordinary series of facts would have gone far to convert into an *axiom* the great verity of which they are here rather designed to form a supplementary illustration, than—as in truth they adequately might—a complete and independent demonstration.

And this remark applies especially to the particular case which is now about to be considered. To arrange and comment upon, within the compass of a few pages, the large mass of facts with regard to the existing religious condition of the United States, which has been collected during an inquiry prolonged through almost five years,—this, of course, would be altogether impossible. A few separate and detached specimens are all that can be given; and the advantage which would result from a more extended and careful arrangement must, in this place at least, be abandoned.

It is in America, if in any country in the world, that the principles of Protestantism may be said to have had fair play. And to America, accordingly, it has been the fashion with the advocates of those principles to refer for an illustration of their genuine results. In accepting the appeal which

has thus been made by Protestants to the aspect of their religion in that powerful republic, we must acknowledge that it has been frankly and openly offered. We are going to meet them, therefore, upon the ground of their own choice. And if, as the puritan hypothesis assumes, the theology of the teachers of the sixteenth century was based upon the eternal principles of truth ; if the religious systems then established were framed according to the type and model of the Apostolical Institution, — then may we confidently expect at least in America to witness the evidence of these assertions. For it is in the highest degree unreasonable to imagine, as even the adversaries will readily admit, that a revival so divine and wonderful as that which their theory supposes, should be accompanied by no results ; or that God, having ordained a new system for the restoration of those Scripture-truths which the Church during fifteen ages had only corrupted and obscured, should again permit this further and special dispensation utterly to fail in effecting its purpose ; and having interfered for the preservation of sound doctrine, should—if one may dare to say it—have interfered in vain. In this case, therefore, as in those already considered, we are to inquire into the *results* of the religious principles in question, and to examine their actual development ; and this we may proceed to do with a just expectation, founded upon the representations of their advocates, that they will be found to

be in the direction of truth, fixedness, and order, and to exhibit the accomplishment of the grand purposes of an ecclesiastical organisation assumed to be of Divine appointment,—namely, purity and constancy of doctrine, and an approximation at least towards unity the most complete and unbroken.

The facts, however, connected with the history of Protestantism in America are the direct reverse of all this, and present a picture of confusion, heresy, and impiety, of which no words can exaggerate the hideous features.¹ Shocking as are the accounts already given of the progress of error in other lands, they are altogether exceeded and surpassed in this case. And so early did the real character of the Protestant theology begin to shew itself in this country, that we are able to trace

¹ “A spirit of misrule, of impiety, of infidelity, of licentiousness,” says Bishop Onderdonk, “is stalking throughout the length and breadth of our land, threatening ruin to every interest connected with individual, domestic, social, and civil welfare. It must be resisted, it must be kept at bay, it must be crushed, *or we are a ruined people.*” *Sermon* preached at the consecration of Christ Church. Professor Stephens, of the Nashville University, echoes, in very eloquent terms, the same prediction. See the *New York Churchman*, vol. ix. no. 12. Even a dissenter, reviewing the political and religious condition of Canada, is constrained to ask, “What have we gained? Why, confusion, and trembling, and infidelity—if not eventually ruin. Again, look at the neighbouring republic, and who does not see that *it must come to pieces?* What tie upon earth is there to hold it together? Their religion is all sectarian, and therefore a matter rather of disunion than union to the mass of the people,” &c. See *Ten Letters on the Church and Church Establishments*, by an Anglo-Canadian, Letter ix. p. 66.

some of its worst and most evil results to the very persons who first introduced it. It was in New England, as is well known, that the Puritans who fled out of their own land, from impatience of goodly discipline and wholesome restraint, — or, as they phrased it, from abhorrence of “religious persecution,” and in order to enjoy the “rights of conscience,” — first sought and found a refuge. The earliest form which their religion, no longer subject to control, assumed, was Presbyterianism; this, however, soon gave way to Independency, which in its turn was superseded by the scheme of the Anabaptists.¹ And we are told that when the men had exhausted their skill in invention, and none could be found to devise any additional extravagance, then “the women undertook a further reformation,” and proposed new plans.² And if we go on to inquire into the present condition of the vast body of the descendants of those Puritans who first settled in New England, it appears, from the unsuspicious statement of one who is described to me as “an eminent congregational minister and a friend of Dr. Taylor,” — the author of what is called the “New-Haven Theology,” — that “of all the congregational ministers in New England, there are

¹ “Qui religionis expertes sunt,” says Salvian, “cum mutaverunt sectam, mutare incipiunt disciplinam.” *De Gubernat. Dei*, lib. vi. p. 147.

² Robertson has given a very true account of these sectaries, in his *History of America*, book x. p. 324: they sunk at last into Antinomianism; p. 328.

not probably, at this day, twenty-five who believe the doctrines of the Nicene Creed.”¹

It is impossible, as I have already observed, to attempt to trace here the progress of the apostacy through all its various stages. The best course, perhaps, which can be pursued, consistently with the limits of these pages, will be to notice (1) the origin of some of the leading sects of the United States; (2) to describe the actual condition of these communities at the present moment; and (3) to give some account of the general progress and prevalence of Socinianism, and other extreme forms of error into which religion in that country has been developed. This is all which can be attempted in the way of systematic arrangement.

(1.) We may begin with the sect of the Baptists, said to be “the prevailing denomination” in the United States, and numbering at the present time nearly *four millions* of adherents. “The Baptist ministry in this country, as we learn from Benedict the Baptist historian, originated in the following manner. Roger Williams, a *presbyterian* member, adopted baptist sentiments, and urged them upon others, till he persuaded several men to embrace them. They formed themselves into a

¹ “Men are astonished and dismayed to find,” says a distinguished modern witness to catholic truth, “that the Calvinistic churches of Geneva, of England, of Ireland, and of Germany in part, and of New England, having set out with the very highest doctrine of grace, have in the course of a few generations utterly lost it, and the fire upon their altars is indeed extinct.” Gladstone, *Church Principles in their Result*, p. 185.

church, chose him for their minister, and two other men for deacons." Having advanced thus far, the founders of this "church" appear to have got into a difficulty; and the way by which they escaped from what certainly threatened to be a fatal embarrassment to their infant community is worthy of notice. "None of them," continues their historian, "had ever been immersed. So the deacons baptised Williams, and ordained him, and then he baptised the deacons and the others. He afterwards formed other churches, and ordained ministers; that order has descended down, and branched out into a variety of denominations; and" (the writer adds) "the ministers have as much right now to ordain or administer ordinances as the first two deacons had *before they were baptised*, or as any unbaptised persons have at this day."¹ That such a history should be true might seem absolutely impossible to persons unacquainted with the nature of the modern religions; yet such was indeed the origin of a community of Christians now numbering nearly four millions!

The "Episcopal Methodists," the next sect to be noticed, are said to include about two millions. Their origin is thus described: "About fifty years ago, Coke persuaded Wesley, then past eighty years old, to constitute him superintendent of the Methodists in America. In a private chamber of a

¹ Quoted in the *Church Advocate*, vol. i. no. 7. p. 28 (Lexington, Kentucky).

public-house at Bristol in England, with but a few individuals present, he laid his hands upon Coke, and invoked a blessing upon him, as he was in the habit of doing with his preachers. Coke came to this country, called himself a Bishop, *ordained others*, and spread the order extensively in our land. After he had done this, Mr. Wesley wrote him a letter of severe reproof, told him that he never pretended to be a Bishop himself, nor intended to make him a Bishop, and charged him with pride and presumption in assuming the title. Coke appears to have been so moved by this letter, and by his own sense of propriety, as to propose that he and his brother bishops would come and be ordained by our Bishops. But our Bishops required that, in that case, all their clergy should be ordained again; this they would not promise; and so the negotiation ended.”¹ And now, says an American writer, “the Methodists are numerous in all parts of the country. They have *more than three thousand travelling preachers*, who are under the superintendence of six bishops,”² and “their

¹ *Church Advocate*, ubi supra.

² “It turns out, that the Episcopal principle is the pervading and ruling element of our whole religious public at this moment—the announcement of which, no doubt, will take many by surprise. But a single glance at facts will shew that it is indeed so we find the entire religious population, *including every denomination of importance*, associated and organised into systematic bodies, supervised and controlled *by a few individuals*, and all based on the Episcopal principle,—and that in most cases in the most absolute and energetic form.” Colton’s *Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country*, chap. iii. p. 98; New York, 1836.

numbers are increasing." Such is the statement of one of the most trustworthy writers of their own land;¹ and thus this vast body of religionists traces its origin to a pseudo-bishop, severely rebuked for his pride and folly by the very man from whom alone he professed to derive his orders, admonished by that person that he himself neither possessed nor pretended to communicate any such authority, and a witness against his own sin in having sued at the hands of others for that very office, to which he thus acknowledged himself to have no claim. And yet the members of this ridiculous sect, who are living under a system as palpably of human invention as any one of the purely secular schemes of human policy, live and die in the belief that they have been grafted into the Body of Christ, the One Holy Catholic Church of the Apostles' Creed!

Of the origin of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, both systems being mainly referrible to the old Puritans, it is not necessary to speak particularly. We may proceed, therefore, at once, to give some account of the *working* of these sects, as well as of the other two just noticed.

(2.) And in describing the working of *Presbyterianism* in America, I gladly avail myself of the testimony of a writer to whose qualifications as a witness no exception can be made; who has been, in the course of his 'ministry,' both a Congrega-

¹ See Caswall's *America and the American Church*, chap. xviii. p. 317.

tionalist and a Presbyterian, and who, speaking of his intimate knowledge of "the practical operation of Presbyterianism in all its parts," says, "I had seen it in all its forms in a pastoral life of ten years I was intimately concerned in the revision of the statutes of the Presbyterian Church, as a member of the General Assembly for two years while that business was in hand; and I have sat as Moderator of different courts employed in public investigations and trials under these laws, in all, many weeks, not to say months, and in some instances several days in succession."¹ The evidence of such a person must be accepted, then, by both sides.

Now I have said that one of the effects of such a system as, by hypothesis, that of Calvin is represented to be, ought to be *fixedness* and uniformity of doctrinal teaching. A special revelation would hardly be made only to teach *different* creeds. Let us, therefore, hear our author first on this point.

"The *great diversity*," he says, "and not unfrequent extravagance of *creeds*, introduced into the Presbyterian and Congregational connexions, is a sad and, for any thing I can see, an irremediable evil. I mean the creeds of every several commonwealth or church. I am aware that the principle of the Presbyterian Church of the United States is, that all its separate organisations or congregations shall adopt and subscribe to the creed

¹ Colton, chap. i. p. 28.

of the Directory, as determined and ordered by the General Assembly ; but such is not the fact ; and the congregations have too much independence to conform to that rule, where they have not done it from the beginning. *All* the Congregational churches of New England are associated under such articles of faith as were drawn up for them by the clergyman who originally organised them into a body, except, as in some instances, they have been remodelled. The same is the fact extensively through the bounds of the Presbyterian denomination. *The diversity cannot, I think, be less than some hundreds ;* and each one is shaped, with minute exactness, according to the theological model of the head that formed it,—as a Hopkinsian, as a New-light, as a moderate or high Calvinist, as an Old or a New-school man, with all the grades between these extremes, from the time of Jonathan Edwards down to this present ; and some of them far higher and far lower than either of these. From the known scrupulosity of divines of these two great denominations in all such matters, it cannot be a subject of surprise, that this great variety of creeds should be guarded and defended on certain points, most dear to the authors, in a manner somewhat extravagant and impressive. Such, in a great diversity of instances, have I found them to be. At one time I have been pleased, at another amused, at another astonished, at another mortified. *One can hardly go from one town to another,*

*although he is in the same denomination, without finding a different creed; unless he may happen to fall into the track of a minister or missionary who organised several churches, and of course gave to each the same; though I have actually found them varying even in such a case, on former missionary ground in the western parts of New York. I have myself organised some ten to fifteen churches, giving them creeds drawn up by my own hand, which varied from each other, according as, by more thinking on the subject, I supposed I could improve their forms.”*¹ After more of this kind, the writer pointedly adds, “How different this from the practice of a Church which has the same creed throughout the land, and that creed in every man’s, in every woman’s, and in every child’s hand!”²

Such being the working of Presbyterianism in this momentous particular, we may inquire next into its tendencies to maintain unity of another sort—the external bond, namely, of peace and good order. Of “the present state of the Presbyterian church” in this respect, the same author says, “Churches are divided; Presbyteries are divided; Synods are divided; the General Assembly is divided; and the whole denomination, composed of more than 2000 ministers, nearly 3000 churches,

¹ Καὶ οὐ πανταχοῦ δογματίζει τοῦτο, παλίντροπος γάρ ἐστι τὴν πίστιν καὶ πολύμορφος. S. Eulogii Alexandr. *Orat.* ap. Photii *Biblioth.* no. 230.

² Colton, chap. ii. pp. 63-65.

more than 250,000 communicants, having allied to them a population falling probably not much short of 2,000,000, is in violent agitation and conflict with itself—party against party—all originating from two great and leading facts, totally unlike, uncongenial, and meeting, as extremes frequently do, not in this instance for coincidence, but for collision. It is extreme looseness in doctrine and practice on the one hand, and a violent attempt to coerce it into orthodoxy and order on the other. The first seems to me to be the natural result of such an organisation, when the body gets to be large; and the last an impracticable theory, applied to remedy the evil, but doomed apparently to produce only concussion and dissolution. . . . It seems to be apparent that the Presbyterian organisation has in it the germ of perpetual strife . . . the essential elements of collision; and the uniform result, as actually developed, is no disappointment, but a fulfilment of its tendencies.”¹

Elsewhere the writer says, “Just at this moment, another grand explosion seems ready to burst upon us, and the Presbyterian church of the United States is in all probability to be rent in twain, if not broken into several fragments.”² Without pursuing more minutely the important statements of this author as to the true character of the system with which he was so well acquainted,³

¹ p. 66.

² p. 204.

³ And of which he gives a description, which, in spite of certain

we may proceed to notice the fulfilment of his prediction as to the destinies of American Presbyterianism. "They have just been afflicted," says

peculiarities of American sentiment and language, is worthy of the most attentive perusal. Nothing can be more convincing than the temperate account of this author, as to the total failure of the Presbyterian system to effect any of the purposes for which the Church alone, in the strength of her divine commission, has ever been adequate. For (1) that system is shewn to have no power to check error, however extravagant. "A woman," Mr. Colton says, speaking of what has actually occurred, "could disturb a church, and a man could overthrow it; a bad and viciously disposed minister could bid defiance to his brethren, and lay waste religious societies, for want of authority to arrest his career;" p. 175. (2) It is a system in which the teachers are slaves to the taught. "They are literally the victims of a spiritual tyranny, that has started up and burst upon the world in a new form—at least with an extent of sway that has never been known. It is an influence which comes up from the lowest conditions of life, which is vested in the most ignorant minds, and therefore the more unbending and uncontrollable;" p. 138. (3) Professing to discard forms, it is in fact a system of "common-place, crude, undigested forms. The Presbyterian, the Congregationalist, the Methodist, the Baptist,—all have their forms, *their set forms*. . . . It is form from beginning to end—in the order and in the matter—except, perhaps, as recently, and to a wide extent, bold attempts have been made to break down all order and all form by the habitual introduction and rapid succession of startling and shocking novelties." So that now the only question is, as experience has proved, whether men shall have forms "carefully and prudently"—(he should have said "divinely")—"provided, and collected from such sources as the purest and best devotional writings and manuals, produced by Apostles, Saints, and Martyrs, from the day of Pentecost to this time; or shall be doomed to the far more defective, the much more exceptionable, and the sometimes offensive, startling, and shocking forms, entailed upon us by loose unauthorised customs, and doled out in such measure and parts as may be convenient to the memory, or as may suit the feelings and taste of the minister for the time being;" pp. 117-20. (4) Lastly, Presbyterianism in America has been fruitful at once of schisms and intolerance, beyond the example, perhaps, of any other sect in any part of the world. "It has made our land," Mr. Colton says, and

another writer, speaking of this body only two years later, "with another schism, the most extensive which they have experienced. In May 1838, the General Assembly divided into two sects of almost equal strength, containing about 1200 ministers respectively. The schism arose from the old controversy between the adherents of the old and new schools; and there are now two representative bodies, each of which declares itself to be the General Assembly!"¹

The New-school Presbyterians are now thought to be the most numerous of these sects; "and they," as I am informed by an eminent American clergyman, writing in the year 1841, "together with the Congregationalists of New England, deny the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son of God." The development of Presbyterianism in New England appears indeed to have reached a climax. "The more intelligent class of New-Englanders," says another American writer, "have become tired and disgusted with the shadows and metaphysics of religion" (alluding to the theolo-

he regards this as one of its characteristic properties, "literally to swarm with religious sects. No part of Christendom has been so prolific in this product as our country. It might almost be said to be our religious staple. This land of freedom has in this particular proved most intolerant; and intolerance has multiplied schisms like the locusts of Egypt. . . . It is a singular fact, that these two extremes, viz., *a boast of religious freedom*, and *a persevering effort to strangle it*, should have characterised the religious history of this country;" pp. 204, 5.

¹ Caswall, chap. xviii. p. 318.

gical systems of the various sectarian teachers); “they have seen their practical tendency to run into Unitarianism, Universalism, or what is perhaps still more common, into infidelity.” He adds, that “infidelity has made rapid strides in that part of the country during the last twenty years; and that, at present, not one half of the adult population are in the habit of attending *any* religious worship, or even belong to any Christian sect. I am able to state this from statistical facts, gathered by clergymen (of all denominations) from different parts of the New-England states. In conversation lately with a physician from a county in Connecticut, whose practice extends through nearly the whole county, and whose acquaintance with the people is not surpassed by that of any man in the state, he remarked, ‘I am surprised to find how prevalent infidel opinions are among the farmers of Connecticut. It is very common to find the works of Paine, and other infidel writings, making up nearly the whole of their libraries, and with many the French *Philosophical Dictionary* is a sort of vade-mecum. The metaphysics of divinity, and the fanaticism of the New-school revivalists, have latterly tended to the rapid spread of sceptical notions; and if things go on for the next fifty years as they have done for the last twenty, *Connecticut will be as noted for infidelity as she has been, in former days, for puritanical strictness.*’” The writer proceeds thus: “I was not at all surprised to hear

this testimony, as it coincided with my own observation. In Massachusetts, the tendency of the popular mind has been more towards Unitarianism than infidelity, owing to the influence of a few powerful minds exerted in support of its doctrines; but in other states, for the want of a half-way house, they have gone the whole distance, from unintelligible metaphysics to open infidelity.”¹

The Baptist sects, although by far the most numerous of all, are said to have but little influence on the mass of society, “on account of their divisions and their uneducated ministry.” They are divided into numerous parties, including the old Calvinistic Baptists, the Free-will, the Seventh-day, the Six-principle, the Christian, who altogether deny the proper divinity of our Lord, and the Campbellite Baptists. The latter sect was founded some years ago by a preacher named Campbell, who began to introduce among them the Socinian heresy. To aid in its dissemination, he recommended an *improved* version of the New Testament.² He has been eminently successful in draw-

¹ Quoted in the *New York Churchman*, vol. ix. no. 25.

² The Baptists having, as it seems, already one of their own. The Canadian Methodist before quoted says, “I cannot shut my eyes to the fact, that we have not from them (the dissenters), and cannot have, any security that the sacred volume will not be corrupted under the pretence of more correct translations, &c.: already we have had to lament over a whole host of attacks on the authorised version, evidently manifesting, that were it not for those Christian enactments which in Britain prevent the ready publishing of spurious editions, we should have been overrun with them; as it is, we have had the garbled ‘New Version’ of the Unitarians, and, in the

ing away whole congregations from the old Baptists, and it is thought that "the Campbellites" are now the more numerous of the two in the Western States.¹ The most prominent Campbellite preacher in the southern country was formerly a Presbyterian Elder. The latest improvement upon the Baptist heresy is Mormonism.²

A schism took place in the Methodist denomination in the year 1830; the separating body, who style themselves Protestant Methodists, going out upon the principle that the laity ought to be admitted to share in the government of ecclesiastical affairs. It is a curious fact, that the spurious Episcopacy of this American sect claims and exercises a more extensive and unquestioned authority over an immense body of members than perhaps any ecclesiastical rulers hitherto recognised among

United States, the translation by the Baptists, purposely designed to support their peculiar views; besides many others of a like nature. Of the same stamp was the Liverpool Liturgy, *published by the Presbyterians* in 1692; of which Mr. Orton says, '*It is scarcely a Christian Liturgy; in the Collects the name of Christ is hardly mentioned, and the Spirit is quite banished from it.*'" *Ten Letters on the Church and Church Establishments*, Letter vii. p. 45; Toronto, 1839.

¹ "The Socinians have now spread extensively through nearly all the northern, southern, eastern, and western states, and are at this day (1823) *the most numerous of all the General Baptists.*" Letter x. p. 72.

² It is unnecessary to do more here, with respect to this extraordinary imposture, than to mention Mr. Caswall's *History of Mormonism*. That gentleman refers its success, in some measure, to a reaction from the prevailing low sentiments on the doctrine of Baptism. Bishop Kemper said, as late as Jan. 7, 1841, "Mormonism continues to increase."

professing Christians.¹ I am informed, upon the highest American authority, that "the great body of Methodists, following Dr. A. Clarke, have departed from the true doctrine of the Trinity." Their method of keeping up the religious excitement which belongs to their system deserves notice. "Their camp-meetings," says Mr. Caswall, "often present the most extraordinary spectacles of enthusiasm. Sermons and exhortations succeed each other in quick succession; the most lively hymns are sung, perhaps for an hour together. The people become powerfully excited; they shout 'Glory' and 'Amen;' they scream, jump, roar, and clap their hands, and even fall into swoons, convulsions, and death-like trances."² And all this is supposed by many to be the immediate work of the divine Spirit!"³

It is to these monstrous extravagances, among other causes, that the spread of infidel opinions is often ascribed even by American writers.⁴ Their

¹ "Presbyterian and Congregational ministers must, will, and do have their leaders—self-appointed heads; heads who do every thing by the rule of their own heads. 'God sends us Bishops, whether we will have them or not;' and the mischief is, when we refuse them, that they force themselves upon us under a system which often originates in their own whims; at best, a system of their own devising, and which changes with every new comer." Colton, *Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country*, chap. iii. pp. 85, 86.

² Πόρνη γάρ ἐστὶν ἡ αἵρεσις, ταῖς ἡγαπημέναις ἡδοναῖς γοητεύουσα. S. Greg. Nyssen. *In suam Ordinationem Orat.* tom. ii. p. 43.

³ *America and the American Church*, ch. xviii. p. 317. Mr. Caswall seems to hope that they are "changing for the better."

⁴ One of them observes, that the dreadful effect of the 'Re-

effects appear to be of a very fearful character; and we can only hope that we ourselves are looking on at a safe distance from the wild revels of which this republic of sectaries is the theatre.

The sect of Quakers has progressed according to the same law which marks the course of all the rest. "The Quaker Societies in the United States," we are told, "are 462, among whom there has been a schism, one party being called orthodox, and the other Socinians:" this writer makes them equal in number, and puts the Socinian preachers of the sect at 231.¹ I am informed that they are, at the present day, as three to one.

(3.) It is time now to speak of the spread of Socinianism in general; and first, of the statements of its own advocates. The "Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association" published in 1827 the following "Report:"—"The Committee have been gratified by the sympathy expressed for them in the prosecution of their

religious revivals' "may be styled the *maladie du pays*, for it is literally and unfortunately such." *American Criticisms on Mrs. Trollope's 'Manners of the Americans,'* p. 14. See also Burder's *Religious Ceremonies*, where an account of them still more shocking and ludicrous is given.

¹ Vide *Church and State in America*, by G. C. Colton, p. 8 (1834). Mosheim says, "the European Quakers dare not so far presume upon the indulgence of the civil and ecclesiastical powers as to deny openly the reality of the history of the life, mediation, and sufferings of Christ; but in America, where they have nothing to fear, they are said to express themselves without ambiguity upon this subject, and to maintain publicly, that Christ never existed but in the hearts of the faithful." *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. v. p. 476.

duties by Unitarians near and at a distance. They have been favoured with letters from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, from all sections in this state, from the city of New York, and from the western part of the state of New York, from Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Northumberland, Pittsburg, and Meadville in Pennsylvania; from Maryland, from the district of Columbia, from South Carolina, from Kentucky, and from Indiana. In all these letters the same interest is exhibited in the efforts which the Association promises to make for the diffusion of pure Christianity."

Again, describing their numerical strength: "Of New England it would be difficult to speak with certainty. *There are, in almost every town, Unitarians*; in many towns of Massachusetts they constitute the majority, and in many more they have respectable though not large churches; but in far the greater number of parishes in New England *they are still blended with other sects*. The number of these silent Unitarians is increasing, and, at the same time, more are manifesting a determination to assert their rights as citizens and as Christians. The Committee conceive that they have sufficient evidence of the increase of Unitarians in New England, especially in Maine, in some parts of New Hampshire, and in the valley of the Connecticut in Massachusetts. They say this gladly, but not boastingly. The progress of correct opinions has

been more rapid than their supporters could have expected for them. *They are introducing themselves into every village.* . . . In the middle states, also, Unitarianism is constantly acquiring new adherents. The erection of a second church in New York, the increased prosperity of the society in Philadelphia, and the commencement of a building for Unitarian worship in Harrisburg, the seat of government of Pennsylvania, are auspicious circumstances. From the southern and western divisions of our land, it is presumed that future correspondence and the communications of agents will furnish intelligence equally gratifying. We are assured that the society in Charleston, South Carolina, continues to prosper, that there are several churches in North Carolina, and that Unitarians are numerous in the states which lie west of the Alleghany mountains."¹ This is indeed a fearful statement, and it is confirmed unhappily by the testimony of others, who would very gladly deny it if they could.²

¹ *First Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association*, 1827. In their *third* Annual Report they state that they have circulated, during the preceding year, 74,300 Tracts!

² M. De Beaumont, on his return to France from the United States, observed of the Socinians, that they are "the philosophers of the United States;" and then, referring to the effects of 'philosophy' in France, he adds, "in America it labours at the same work—the destruction of religion and its ministers—but is obliged to veil its operations under a cloak of religion. Its mantle is the Unitarian doctrine." Quoted in the *Church Advocate*, vol. i. p. 70. Mr. Potter stated in the House of Commons, August 6, 1833, that

A few words, in the last place, upon Universalism, another of those monstrous forms of error which the religion of "the Bible and the Bible only" has generated in America. "This strange creed maintains¹ that neither temporal nor eternal death are consequences of sin it denies that the death of Christ was properly an atonement . . . it denies the supreme divinity of our Lord, the distinct personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit, and the doctrine of the Trinity." In a word, it denies almost every article of the Christian faith. And to this deadly heresy, as to almost every other, Presbyterianism, in its various forms, appears to have been the stepping-stone. The founder of Universalism was John Murray, a

he could declare that the spread of Unitarian opinions in America had been rapid. *There was now hardly a town in that vast country in which there was not a Unitarian Chapel*; in the large towns two, and in the town of Boston there were no fewer than sixteen professing Unitarian belief." "In England," says the writer who quotes these words, "these semi-infidels are poor and weak; in America, they are many, and rich, and strong." *Ten Letters on the Church, &c.*, Letter x. p. 72. A writer quoted by Colton, who enumerates instances of a successful opposition to the ravages of this devouring heresy, says, "the *Legislature* of the State was under its control, and all important public offices of the commonwealth were monopolised by it; until it was discouraging enough for any one to think of aspiring to place unless he were an Unitarian." *Church and State in America*, p. 39. Cf. *Remarks on the Moral and Religious Character of the U. S. of America*, p. 51 (1831); and Capt. B. Hall's *Travels in the United States*, vol. ii. ch. vi., who observes, that "the religious institutions of the country harmonise with every thing else."

¹ See *Universalism as it is*, by Edwin F. Hatfield, p. 33; New York, 1841.

Wesleyan preacher.¹ Its leading advocates have been, “Elnathan Winchester, a popular preacher of the Baptist sect; Dr. Joseph Huntington, pastor of a Calvinistic church in Connecticut;” and, latterly, “Mr. Balfour, who, bred in the Church of Scotland, next became an Independent, or Congregationalist, then a Baptist, and at last a Universalist.”² The tenets of this sect, which are perpetually fluctuating, are too absurd and blasphemous to be noticed in detail; and yet—such is the incredible religious state of America—the advocates of this preposterous heresy “are, in their own estimation,³ the *fifth*, if not the *fourth* in order, in point of *numbers, respectability, and talent*, among the denominations of the land; among the greatest reading people in the Union; having no less than nineteen or twenty periodicals, issuing every month at least 100,000 sheets to 25 or 30,000 subscribers, among at least thrice that number of regular readers.” “In the southern and western states,” they say, “the doctrine is extending its progress faster than preachers can follow to proclaim and defend it; while in the eastern and middle states, ministers, laymen, and even whole societies, are embracing this calumni-

¹ *Ibid.* ch. i. p. 13. “The notions of religion entertained by a large proportion of the disciples of Murray were derived, for the most part, from Calvinistic preachers and the *Westminster Catechism*,” p. 16.

² chap. xxiv. p. 302.

³ *Life of Murray*, p. 272.

ated doctrine, and coming over to its avowal and support."

"Such were the pretensions of this sect eight years since,"—*i. e.* in 1833: "their statistics for the present year shew that they have lost none. . . . They maintain,¹ that 'during the past year no less than fifty-nine new labourers have entered into' their 'field of labour, of whom nine are converts from the Partialist ministry; whilst hundreds, yea, thousands, if not tens of thousands, of the Partialist laity have embraced and avowed the faith of Universalism during the past year. There are,' they say (p. 71), 'in the United States alone,—1 general convention, 12 state conventions, 56 associations, about 853 societies, 512 preachers,² and 513 meeting-houses owned wholly or in part by Universalists.'"³

"The denomination to which I belong," says a Universalist preacher to a Socinian in this country, as far back as sixteen years ago, "is composed of upwards of 300 societies, and about 200 preachers. These numbers are continually receiving accessions. We have increased most in New England, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; though there are Universalists scattered all over the United States. It will, perhaps, be pleasing

¹ *Universalist Companion*, p. 70.

² Only one year later (1834), Mr. Colton puts the Universalist preachers at 600; *Church and State in America*, p. 8.

³ *Universalism as it is*, Preface.

to you to learn, that this sect is, with indeed a very few exceptions, entirely Unitarian. I know of but three ministers, in the whole order, who are Trinitarians; and I believe the greater proportion are Humanitarians. With the few exceptions just mentioned, we concur in rejecting, as absurd and unscriptural, the old idea of atonement,"¹ &c. &c.

Such are a few facts, chosen out of a multitude of similar ones, in illustration of the development of Protestant doctrines and systems in America. And fearful as is the religious condition which they indicate, we cannot even hope that things are yet at the worst. Professor Moses Stuart, after quoting some of the most extreme opinions of the German Rationalists, says to his Socinian correspondent, "You are doubtless inclined before this time to say, 'What is all this to us? We do not avow or defend such opinions.' True, I answer; at present, you do not. A short time since they did not. But as soon as their numbers increased, so that they began to be fearless of consequences, and their antagonists urged the laws of exegesis upon them, they abandoned the ground of defending the divine authority of the Bible at once. A few years since, the state of theological questions in Germany, in many respects was similar to what

¹ See *Monthly Repository*, vol. i. p. 177, and vol. iv. p. 775. Its own adherents are quoted as acknowledging that it often "leads to infidelity, and thence to atheism," and that "many of its strongest supporters are avowed infidels." *Universalism as it is*, chap. xxiii. p. 319.

it now is here. At present, the leading German critics, rejecting 'accommodation,' and casting off all ideas of the divine origin of the Scriptures, are disputing with great zeal the questions, Whether a miracle be possible? Whether God and nature are one and the same thing? (Schelling, a divine, is at the head of a great party which maintains that they are the same.) And, whether the Jews ever expected any Messiah? Some time ago, many of their critics maintained that no Messiah was predicted in the Old Testament; but now, they question even whether the Jews had any expectation of one. It would seem now, that they have come nearly to the end of questions on theology,—at least I cannot well devise what is to come next. The persons who read their works will see what the spirit of doubt and unbelief can do in respect to the Book of God, and where it will carry the men who entertain it. It is indeed a most affecting and awful lesson. But is there no reason to fear that we are to learn it by sad experience?¹ Does not the progress of the sentiments which you defend illustrate the nature of this subject? A short time since, almost all the Unitarians of New England were simply Arians: now, if I am correctly informed, there are scarcely any of the younger preachers of Unitarian sentiments who are not simple Humanitarians. Such was the case in Germany.

¹ This was asked in 1819; they have learned all this in America, and more, since that time.

The divinity of Christ was early assailed; inspiration was next doubted and impugned. Is not this already begun here? Natural religion comes next in order; and the question between the parties here may soon be in substance, Whether natural or revealed religion is our guide and our hope."¹

Such, then, have been the results in this country also of the principles upon which the modern systems were founded.² And in the case of Ame-

¹ Stuart's *Letters to Dr. Channing*, pp. 147-52.

² Which results it is easy to foresee will be urged by Roman Catholics as an argument in their behalf, and so may seem to be somewhat inconsistently referred to by a member of the Anglican Church. On this point I am anxious to make one or two observations. And first, if such developments be, in any measure, a confirmation of Roman Catholic views, why should we, if our love of truth be any thing more than a mere matter of words, deny them the full benefit which they claim from them? As between the Church of Rome, then, and the various Protestant sects, the facts under consideration must no doubt be regarded as conclusive;—but in what way do they affect the controversy between the same Church and ourselves? The English Church, by God's gracious favour, is witnessing at this day to catholic truths as heartily as at any former period of her history, from the apostolic age downwards. If, therefore, it be an argument in defence of Rome, that while innumerable sects have plunged one after another into an abyss of heresy and unbelief, she has still preserved the faith; and if of the Anglican Church the same constancy may with no less truth be predicated; then in the same proportion in which the developments of mere 'protestantism' are favourable to the claims of the one church, they are a vindication also of the other:—or rather, if the English Church, in spite of difficulties peculiarly her own, has still maintained her divine character as the mother of saints and guardian of the true faith, then may her children point to the downfall of the modern systems with even more confidence than those of the sister churches, and to her own present condition as a sufficient proof that having been once espoused to Christ, her alliance with Him is not yet divorced. One answer may indeed be made by our enemies—

rica, as has been already observed, the development of these principles may the more certainly be regarded as a token of their real nature, from the circumstance that they have there been professed from the first without check or restriction of any kind, and, as indeed their advocates boast, have been beyond the reach of those influences which in other lands might have impeded their natural growth. This circumstance of their history is therefore worth noticing; but it is quite evident, from the facts which have been here collected, that no variety of position, though for a while it might modify or even correct the views of the modern religionists, could long avail to conceal or counteract the real tendencies of their religious principles. In an empire, a province, or a republic; in weakness or in power; triumphant or tolerated,—the result has still been the same; and the lapse of a few short years has in each case sufficed to demonstrate, that

for so, it seems, they wish us to regard them—viz. that the development in our own case is not yet complete, and we may be reminded that at this very day two antagonist principles are struggling for the mastery in the bosom of our distracted Church. To this objection let it be freely answered, that if—which may God forbid!—the ‘protestant’ element in her constitution should ultimately prevail, it would be wholly inconsistent with all that is here collected, to deny, or even to doubt, that she too must perish and decay: but if, as there is surely just reason to expect, the catholic or religious element should absorb and neutralise the other, then may we hope, not only for the continuance and enlargement of her own prosperity, but even that she should be made the instrument of bringing nearer to the primitive standard the Roman Church herself.

a new Discipline generates a new Doctrine, a new Church requires a new Gospel, the enemies of the Bishops have proved the enemies of Christ, and schism has declined, by an unfailing law, to heresy, blasphemy, and unbelief.¹

And now—that we may come to a conclusion—if any, seriously reviewing the evidence which has here been adduced, should deem that that system of religion which we have been considering,—a system which, beginning by the suppression of one truth, ends, in every case, by the denial of all,—is in fact the most awful presage of the coming Antichrist which the world has yet seen,—at least he would seem to have some reason for the thought.²

¹ As those who delight in the proofs of this declension seem very well to understand. An English Socinian, reviewing the progress of his own sentiments in different parts of the world, and expressing his confident expectation of a yet more general diffusion of them amongst the various sects of these latter days, speaks as follows of the fatal heresy which he professes. “It is the form towards which I believe Christianity to be tending in all sects. It will grow up imperceptibly in the bosom of various sects, as it did formerly in this country under the cover of Presbyterianism; as it has more lately in the Calvinistic Church of Geneva, and amongst the Independents in America; first prompting a modification of the hereditary creed, and destroying the power before the name of orthodoxy, till some unforeseen occurrence shall call for an explicit declaration of opinion; when Christians of very different denominations will be astonished to find how nearly, in their real and inward convictions, they were agreed.” *Monthly Repository*, vol. i. pp. 179-181.

² Nor would it be altogether a novel sentiment, though founded upon facts which are only now—at least upon so large a scale—coming under our observation. Various writers, including Bishop Jeremy Taylor, have before now intimated their belief, “that the existence of the Apostolic order, or, in other words, the episcopacy

XIV. It only remains now, in the last place, to recapitulate the different arguments, and combine the separate proofs, which have been employed or collected in these pages. And this may be done in a few sentences.

(1.) The primary objection to the Catholic System, which lies at the root of the whole subject of Church Polity, and which in many minds appears to be held almost unconsciously, and quite independently of any process of reasoning, is this: that “if it had been of divine appointment, it would have been more *plainly* set forth in Holy Scripture.” To this assumption,—for it does not even claim to be more,—it was answered, in the first place, that the objection applies to many of the acknowledged fundamentals of Christianity, and therefore proves too much; in the second, that it is equally fatal to one system of Church-government as to another, and therefore to all systems whatever; and in the third, that it was the very argument urged against the facts of the Gos-

of the Church, is *that which withholdeth* the revelation of Anti-christ.” See Todd’s *Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Anti-christ*, note, p. 244. And there is surely some reason for such a belief, if it were only from this consideration, that there was *never* an instance in any country of the subversion of the episcopate, which was not followed by the gradual rejection of all the distinctive tenets of Christianity; nor, on the other hand, has there been a single example, either in England, Scotland, or America, of the falling away of so much as one congregation in communion with the successors of the Apostles, though the reformed Catholic Church in each of those countries has long been contending with the most distressing difficulties and temptations.

pel—as the Resurrection—and its essential doctrines—as the Holy Trinity—by every class of heretic and unbeliever, from the Apostolic age down to our own. It is an objection, therefore, not so much to Episcopacy, as to Christianity.

It was contended, in the next place, that not only does this supposed *à priori* objection fall to the ground, but that there are antecedent probabilities *in favour* of the Catholic Polity such as really determine the whole question of its origin without the witness either of Scripture or history, and constitute in themselves an evidence approaching as nearly to demonstration as the nature of moral subjects appears to allow. The great *fact* of the Jewish Church, which was confessedly typical of and introductory to a future system, is the first of these. The corresponding fact of a kindred Institution professing to be of divine origin and exhibiting manifest tokens of that character, actually taking the place of and assuming to represent, with the consent of all mankind, this its supposed type, is another. And the necessary conclusion from the joint consideration of the two,—that the later Institution, namely, was either that very one designed by God to succeed the former; or else that, for more than fifteen hundred years, it had no successor at all,—is a third. The Church Catholic, it is plain, was either the system predicted by the Prophets and foreordained of God, or no system was predicted and foreordained; because during

fifteen ages no other existed. And the only answer to this which can be conceived, is, that during all that period prophecy was unfulfilled and the divine purpose frustrated.

If, therefore, no further revelation had been made, even in that case the evidence was complete. The elder Dispensation had done its part,—was cancelled,—was superseded. The new Dispensation commenced,—assumed a definite form and shape,—was recognised,—was obeyed: what more was wanted? The setting up of the new order was in itself sufficient evidence of the divine sanction. That sanction was implied in its very existence; it could have had no being without it. And when the Records of the New Covenant were promulgated, it was enough that they should *recognise* without *defining* the new ecclesiastical system, which, being itself the accomplishment of manifold prophecies, needed no further witness.

(2.) Such being the state of the argument, appeal was made in the next place to those sacred Records. And these were found to contain not only the outlines—which alone was antecedently probable—but even many of the details of that economy which had already been several years in operation when they were first collected together. The office of St. James of Jerusalem, of Timothy, of Titus, and of the seven Prelates of the Asiatic Churches, was minutely traced, and proved to be identical with that of our modern Bishops, upon

evidence which nothing but the necessities of a counter-theory could resist. Invested with absolute authority over all the churches and clergy of their jurisdiction, and provided with instructions which, while they formed a body of canons for their own guidance in the execution of their office, serve also as an accurate representation to the faithful in all ages of its nature and purpose, those holy men are set forth to us in the divine story as the first-fruits among those spiritual rulers whom it was the eternal purpose of God to “*make princes in all lands.*”¹ And that they were only the first of a long line of fathers to be hereafter begotten of the Church, is plain, not less from the express statements of the blessed Apostles by whom they were ordained, and by whose authority they were solemnly charged to ordain others, than by the testimony of the very men who succeeded to their chairs, and of the people who, in submitting to the government of these successors, boasted one to another, that they could trace through them to their predecessors St. James and St. John. So that, if the words of Holy Scripture be not altogether unmeaning and unsubstantial—if the Church of the Apostles be any thing more than a phantom or vision—if its first rulers, St. James and St. John, Clement and Epaphroditus, Ignatius and Polycarp, were really what they seem to have been, what they claimed to be, and what they were admitted to be,

¹ Psalm xlv. 16.

—then is it most certain that they, and all their successors after them, were, as universal Christendom believed, Bishops, or Apostles, in the Church of God. And to this the adversary offers out of Holy Scripture a solitary objection, which, as being the beginning, middle, and end of their answer, it was well to notice, but which, besides its utterly vain and trifling character, has not even the poor shew of ingenuity with which heresy is fain to trace out of Scripture its creed of many hues. A childish play upon words and names, of which, of course, the signification might vary even from age to age, but which they chose artfully to confound with the unchangeable realities of which they were only the convenient symbols,—such has been the reasoning with which a few moderns have thought to mutilate the faith of a world, such the weapon with which they would seek to confound and put to flight “the armies of the living God.”

(3.) Passing on from the evidence of the Sacred Scriptures, it was obvious to inquire next into the testimony of Christian Antiquity, and to ask of those highly-favoured men who had sat at the feet of Apostles, or been taught by their disciples, what was the ecclesiastical constitution under which they themselves lived. That they should be mistaken as to the matter of fact with which, from day to day, their own senses were cognisant, was impossible. And if their witness could avail to determine the canon of Divine Scripture, it might be

accepted with at least as much confidence in behalf of that spiritual polity, that present and living organisation, under which their own offices were administered, and by which they were visibly encompassed and girt around. Their testimony was cited at length, and found to be consistent, unequivocal, and decisive. The three orders or degrees of the sacred ministry, which they professed, without contradiction of heathen or heretic, to have received from the Apostles, and in which they recognised the fulfilment of many prophecies of the Holy Spirit, were not only maintained by them as an economical arrangement suitable for present need, or expedient under a particular state of the fortunes of the Church, and so capable of modification and adjustment;—such thoughts would they have abhorred, not enduring even to listen to notions so injurious to the common faith; rather did they reverently judge of them as ordained by a decree from everlasting, as a portion of the divine counsel and scheme for the salvation of sinners,—a very type also and present figure of the Most Holy Trinity, and so absolutely necessary and unchangeable throughout all times, that those saints and martyrs of God could as hardly have set themselves to contemplate a religion without Christ, as a Church without Bishops.¹ And so constant was

¹ The idea was not indeed brought before their minds as it is before ours, and therefore they nowhere enter upon the discussion of it. Yet some of the ancients have used language upon certain

this belief among all lands wheresoever the Gospel had been preached, that even those misbelievers who fled out of the ark of the Church, and formed to themselves conventicles apart, never dreamed of setting up any purer nor more primitive—nay, nor any other—form of government than this, but perpetuated their errors by a succession of pseudo-bishops. And when certain women, “led away with divers lusts,” and seeking to annul even the distinction between the sexes, ventured to usurp the office of teachers, and to frame a new company of believers, it was by imitating the only order which they had ever heard of, and appointing from their own ranks *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, that they attempted to execute their impious plan.

occasions which sufficiently indicates the judgment they would have pronounced upon our modern religionists. A remarkable instance is the sentence of St. Athanasius upon Ischyra. After stating—in his defence of Macarius, who had been charged with having broken the mystical Cup when in the hands of Ischyra—that the latter had never been ordained a Priest by the authority of the Church, and that therefore his celebration of the sacrament was only a profane mockery, the Saint asks, Πόθεν οὖν πρεσβύτερος Ἰσχύρας; τίνος κατήσταντος; ἄρα Κολούθου; τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπὸν ἀλλ’ ὅτι Κόλουθος πρεσβύτερος ὧν ἐτελεύτησε. Ischyra is only a layman, he says; for Coluthus, who is pretended to have ordained him, was himself no more than a presbyter. *Apolog.* tom. i. p. 732; and see the confession of Ischyra himself, p. 782, and pp. 794, 5. The annulling the ordinations of a blind bishop, whose hands had been directed by certain presbyters, and the very severe and emphatic language of the Council which so decreed, is another instance: see the case apud Burchard. *Ex Concil. Braggar. Decret.* lib. i. cap. iii. It is upon this and other like examples, that Bellarmine forcibly remarks, “*Esse ex jure divino ut soli Episcopi ordinent, inde colligitur, quod habebatur irritum si quid in ea re fecissent, qui veri Episcopi non essent.*” *De Clericis*, lib. i. cap. xiv.

It was in vain, then, for the adversaries to deny the certainty of the historical fact, which even the enemies of the Church, both by words and deeds, so abundantly confirmed. Truth, however, was not that which they sought ; and so, turning away from the evidences of it which appeared on every side, they resorted to a device in meeting the argument from Antiquity, which is not, perhaps, to be surpassed by any contrivance of deliberate unbelief since the beginning of the world. “ True,” said they, “ these fathers, and others, do bear witness to the universal acceptance of Bishops in their days, and ascribe it to the appointment of the Apostles. But then they were mistaken—that is all. It was *not* the discipline of the Apostles, though their own disciples and the whole world so long thought so, but a new office introduced into the Church a few years after they were withdrawn from the earth. Presbyterianism was, in fact, their form of discipline ; and Episcopacy was substituted for it by their followers.” This was their answer.

Having made up their mind at all events to reject Episcopacy, they were obliged to assign some reason for doing so. The whole world, without contradiction of a single fragment of all the ancient writings, testifies to its existence within a few years of the Apostles : this, therefore, it would have been hopeless to gainsay. Still, if it was to be spoken against with any success, its origin must

needs be asserted to date from after the withdrawal of the inspired rulers of the Church. The period immediately subsequent to their departure was, therefore, the only suitable epoch for the mysterious change which their hypothesis supposes;¹ and to this period that change was accordingly referred. And whatever we may think of their integrity, we can at least make no exception to their ingenuity.²

Ancient and holy truth is not, however, to be obscured by wit and subtlety, much less by an artifice so transparent as this. The reply which was made to this notion,—which is still relied upon, as if it were not really too extravagant for any sober man to defend,—was, in a few words, such as the following.

The ‘*change*’ of discipline asserted—supposing, for the sake of argument, that its accomplishment was within the compass of things possible—must have been effected either with the consent of the

¹ “Ex falso maluit colligere quod falsum est, quam ex vero quod verum. Et cum debeant incerta de certis probari, hic probationem sumpsit ex incerto, ad evertendum quod erat certum.” Lactantius, *De Origine Erroris*, lib. ii. p. 161.

² Though we shall probably suspect, with Sir Guyon,

“That all this famous antique history,
Of some the aboundance of an ydle braine
Will judged be, and painted forgery,
Rather than matter of just memory,
Sith none that breatheth living aire doth know
Where is that (prooffe)
Which these so much doe vaunt, yet no where show;
But vouch antiquities which no body can know.”

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, bk. ii. canto i.

Apostles or against it. If the first, then Episcopacy is still confessed to be Apostolical; but if not, then, as was observed in noticing the point above, we must believe that it was erected throughout the world under circumstances so strange and marvellous, that the establishment of Episcopacy upon the ruins of Presbytery would deserve to be ranked amongst the most extraordinary events which ever excited the astonishment of mankind. For not only does the assumed change imply either the active fraud or disgraceful apathy of all those primitive Christians in whose time and by whose consent or agency it must be supposed to have been wrought,—so that the very first generation of believers must be asserted to have apostatised from their obedience to Christ and His ordinance—but the penalty of this guilt was voluntarily incurred by them without the slightest prospect of advantage either to themselves or to any one else; the carnal ambition with which these meekest and holiest of men are charged only dooming them to be the earliest victims of persecution, and the unlawful precedence which they so unaccountably craved, even to the utter subversion of the discipline of Christ, being simply a precedence of suffering and death! And as the Bishops, on the one hand, were thus covetous of a prohibited eminence only to procure a larger share of danger and temptation, so the Presbyters, on the other, must be understood to have yielded

to them with a facility equally unaccountable, resigning one after another the lawful authority with which God had entrusted them, when there was not only no motive for so shameful a compliance, but not even the pretence of any power to enforce it; and this they did silently and submissively from one end of the world to the other, not one solitary presbyter being found with zeal or spirit enough to remonstrate against it, and that, too, at the very time when whole churches were agitated with keen debate upon the minutest points of ritual or ceremonial observance, and Christians were manifesting, as infidels have scoffingly remarked, the most watchful and sensitive jealousy upon every point of doctrine and discipline! And further, this extraordinary revolution, one of the most extensive and important which is pretended to have taken place in any period of the history of the world, accomplished in hundreds of places at the same moment, and acquiesced in by thousands and tens of thousands of men of every language and country, was effected amid a silence so deep and unnatural, that not only were the actors in it apparently unconscious of their own deed, but the whole world conspired together ever after to suppress the very memory of it, so that in all the voluminous records of Christian Antiquity there is not so much as one passing allusion to it. And when men, well reputed of for sanctity and blameless living, ventured immediately after

to mock themselves and others by exalting Episcopacy as the ordinance of Christ, and to censure with solemn anathemas all who opposed themselves to it, not one mouth was opened to remind them of its true origin, nor to reproach them with their folly and deceit ! Such are a few of the wild and preposterous notions which men, shrewd and sagacious in the conduct of their worldly affairs, are constrained to defend, in order that they may not be forced to resign an error which begins by taking for granted that all these are unquestionable truths !

(4.) That men should ever have set themselves, then, deliberately to impugn that form of ecclesiastical polity, to the divine origin of which Prophecy, Scripture, and History, had thus clearly and harmoniously witnessed, was very highly improbable. Of all the adversaries by whom the Church had been so rudely though vainly assaulted during fifteen successive ages, one only, and he convicted out of his own mouth, was found to attempt a work at once so daring and so absurd. And it has been shewn, that not even those unscrupulous men who, in the sixteenth century, undertook with loud tongues and violent deeds to reform the corruptions of the Catholic Church, contemplated in the outset of their movement any such extravagance as this. Animated in some instances by a just abhorrence of grievous and well nigh intolerable evils, in others only by an insa-

tiable appetite for personal distinction and aggrandisement, but in none, it is to be feared, by any adequate sense of the exceeding awfulness of the work to which they put their hands, and the inestimable preciousness of that unity which they so intemperately despised,—these persons vehemently demanded the reformation which was as vehemently denied, and in a temper, as it appears, but too much akin to their own. They determined next to accomplish for themselves the needful work, of which the lawful rulers of the Church contented themselves with only admitting the necessity. That their vocation to this purpose was, at the least, imperfect, they did not at first hesitate to acknowledge. Again and again, as has been shewn in these pages, they professed their willingness to resign to the Bishops the task which of right belonged to them. Any disrespect for their *office* in the abstract they emphatically disclaimed, the least token of sympathy or assistance from them they eagerly accepted. And this attitude they maintained for a long while. At length it became apparent that they must either take the decided step of casting off their allegiance to the Bishops altogether, or resign their power and authority to them. They chose the former course. And this their whole history, in spite of certain inconsistencies, would have led us to anticipate. Former concessions must now be obscured, or plausibly explained, or boldly withdrawn. The

battle henceforth was not for truth, but—so far as the ‘reformers’ were concerned—for existence. The Scriptures, from which their manifold and conflicting creeds were already so confidently derived, were invoked again for aid; and the next doctrine “wrested” out of them for the convenience of their party was this,—that Episcopacy was a corruption of the Discipline of Christ. Even in this, however, they could not attain to be consistent; and the Anglican Episcopate, by what texts of Scripture they omitted to say, was specially exempted from so severe a judgment. Their error in this respect, however, has been discerned by their later disciples, and the English Bishops are now to be resisted, as no less tyrants and usurpers than their co-Apostles of the Western Church.

(5.) Such is the history of the extraordinary error which certain moderns are still found to maintain, against the united testimony of Scripture and Antiquity, and even the confessions of their own masters and teachers. Hitherto, however, with more or less success, it has been disguised, under the pretence of zeal for the Gospel, and the reformation of error; and so long as it wore this mask, it has been able to deceive many, to whom such professions were an all-sufficient recommendation. This mask has at length been removed, and the whole truth is now revealed to the world. The teachers of ‘Protestantism’ may still amuse themselves and their disciples with the phraseology

of a past age ; but it will deceive no longer. They are detected. The evidence of their imposture meets us at every turn. We have found out at last what 'the Gospel' and 'the truth' mean in their mouths. And if they will still set themselves in array against the appointed guardians of the Faith, they must be content to do so henceforth in their real character. Their former disguise will serve them no longer. We know them now ; and he must be deeply in love with error who will suffer himself to be deceived hereafter by the solicitations of so palpable a fraud.

And now to conclude. Had it been possible at an earlier period to point to the developments which have been noticed in this place, or had the argument founded upon them been already employed in vain, no other result could have been anticipated for the present attempt than such as has attended the labours of those to whom it was given in past times to bear witness to holy truth. The appointed word would have been spoken ; but it would have been spoken without effect. There is, however, something so appalling in the facts which it has been reserved to us for the first time to contemplate, and which seem to indicate so plainly the approach of that final contest between the Church and the Enemy, of which Holy Scripture speaks, that we cannot but hope that at least some few of our brethren may learn at length to understand their true position, and be led to seek

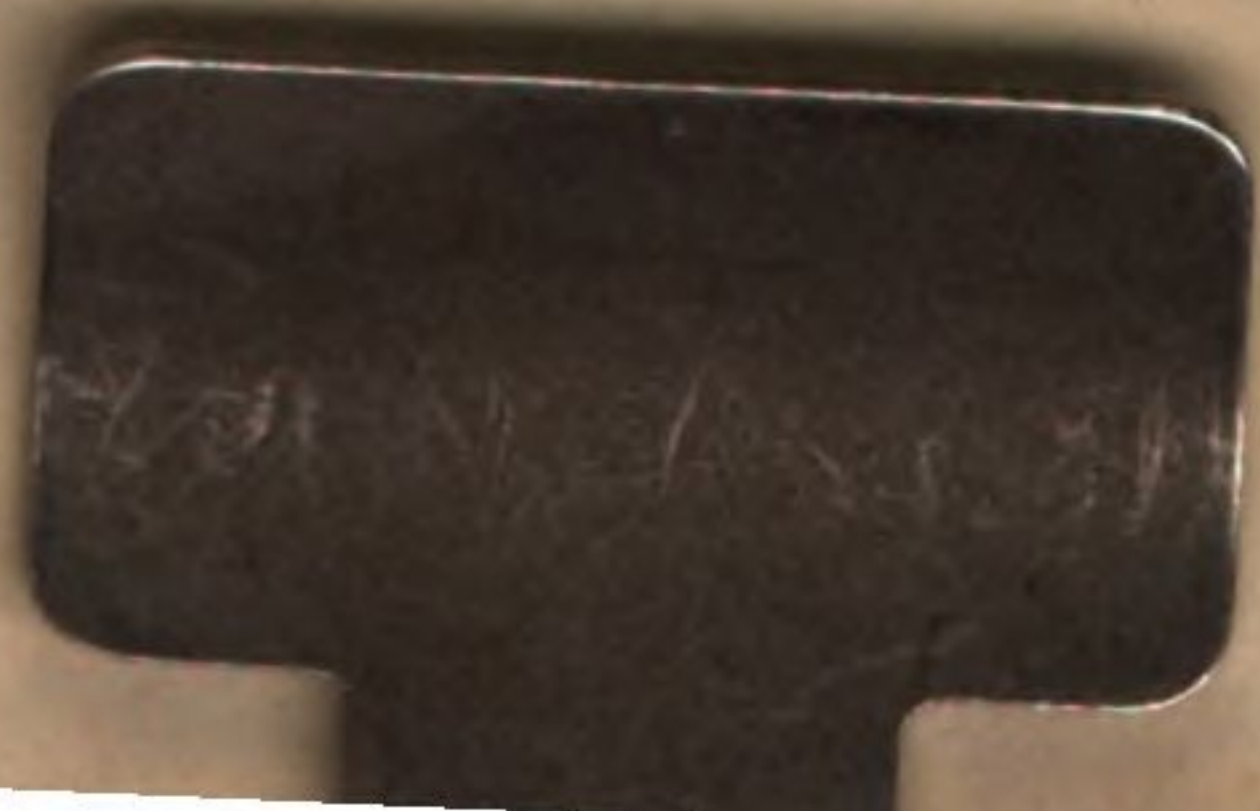
shelter within the Ark of God from the torrents which are beginning to pour themselves on every side. Hitherto hath the Lord “covered the deep, and restrained the floods thereof;” but even now the storm which shall strew the earth with wrecks is rising, and gathers blackness day by day: already there are around us the tokens at least of that final apostacy towards which the world is gradually tending, and of which our Lord has warned all men in the awful words, “When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?” And we of this generation seem to be summoned to choose our side, whilst yet we may—to know our enemies, stripped at length of every disguise, and to prepare our hearts for that conflict, in which, though we stumble, we shall rise up again, though we fall, we shall surely triumph; “for their rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges. For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter. Their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps their foot shall slide in due time; for the day of the calamity is at hand, and the things that shall come upon them make haste.”

THE END.

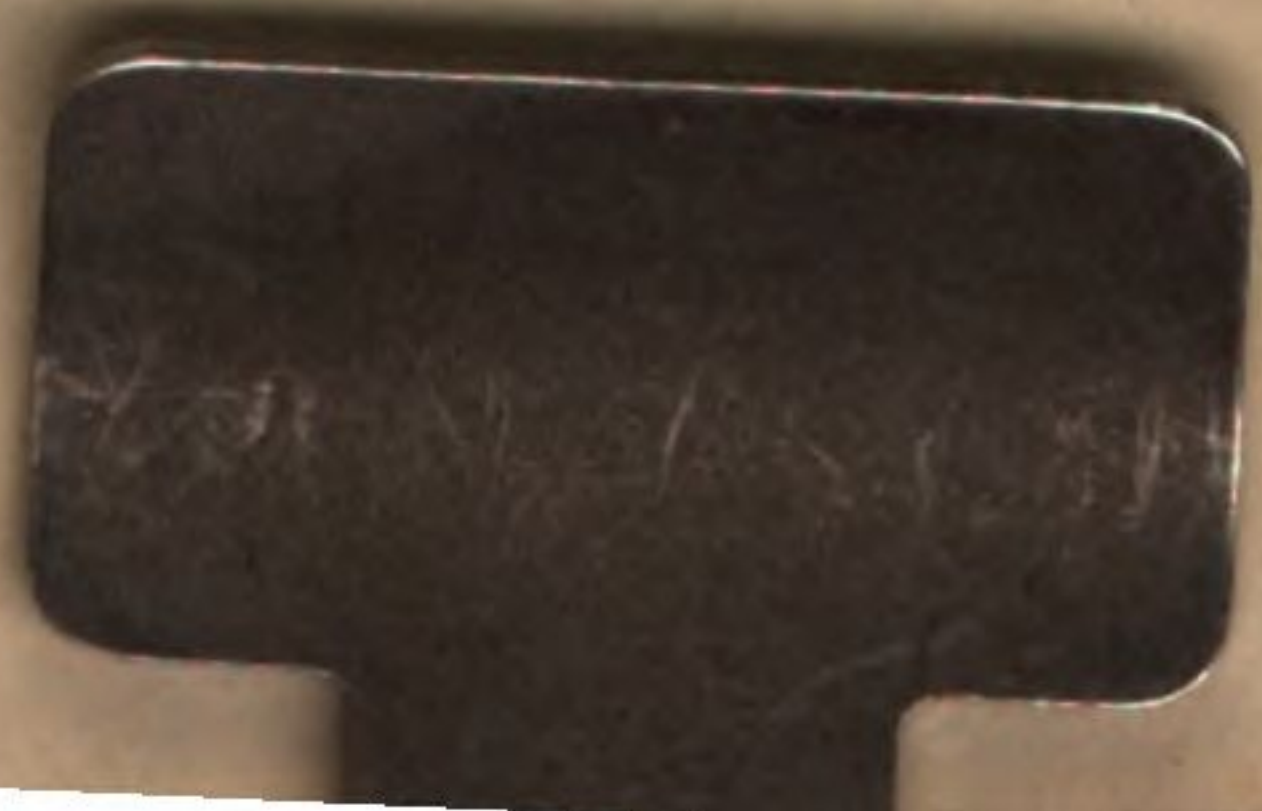
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